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THE VANISHED EMPIRE



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THE MEETING OF THE WAR-LORDS OF CHINA IN PEKING, ON JUNE 28, 1926.

On the left, front row, Marshal Chang Tso-lin ; on the right, front row, Marshal Wu Pei Fu ; in the middle, General Chang Tsung-chang of Shantung ; between Marshal Wu and General Tsung-chang, the young General Chang Hsueh-liang, son of Marshal Chang Tso-lin.

THE VANISHED EMPIRE

Simpson, Bertieam Lane

BY

B. L. PUTNAM WEALE, *pseud.*

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PREFACE

THE purpose of this book is twofold : to present to readers who have become interested in the drama which has overwhelmed Chinese civilization the historical reasons for its collapse ; and to give in detail a record of the past nine months so that a working account of the existing administration may reinforce what has been said.

With the meagre materials at present available, it is difficult to describe in a satisfactory way the vanished rule of the Emperors. A proper documentation for writing the authentic history of China indeed requires an examination of the whole monumental Chinese literature, for which no agencies as yet exist. Chinese scholars, trained in Western methods, are doing something in rearranging and elucidating well-known materials, valuable monographs on such matters as the primitive characters found on bronze vessels and on the sacrificial *vestigia* of the Shang dynasty having recently appeared, while Western scholars have distinguished themselves in the field of archæology. Yet the great gaps can only be filled in slowly. The utmost that can be done at present is to trace in broad outline the story of the building of Imperial

China, and to accentuate the manner in which the sea washed away its foundations.

The importance of these things is becoming clearer every day. The chaos seems to deepen because the inadequacy of the machinery for controlling men is made ever more manifest by the fading tradition of the Throne, and by the growth of factors rooted in another civilization. From this it may be deduced that the control of all non-Chinese instrumentalities must be vested in a new agency during an interregnum which will last until a new philosophy and a new rule of life shall have been evolved, or that the monarchy will be reintegrated.

PEKING, *July* 1926.

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BOOK I
THE DOMINION OF THE EARTH

BOOK I

THE DOMINION OF THE EARTH

§ I

JUST as a household depends primarily on a harmonious understanding among its members for its corporate existence, so must a state possess a definite compromise between its citizens to perpetuate itself. In China the kingship was the shrine of the people's unchanging soul, the precious vessel containing the culture fashioned in the remote past ; and only a complete understanding of the rule of the Emperors can reveal the dominant impulses of the nation.

The early Chinese age was pastoral if not nomadic, and its dim beginnings are still unknown. Although the history of these forgotten days has been described as mythical, modern criticism is accepting much that was previously rejected. Certain it is that five thousand years ago the vanguard of the race had already entered the upper valleys of the Yellow River. While the school which insisted on the migration theory has been for some time almost discredited, the recent great and important discoveries of painted pottery, almost

identical with the prehistoric pottery of Western Asia, in strata belonging to the third millennium before Christ, have revived the belief that a definite relationship between Sumerian and Chinese culture will finally be established, together with certain racial affinities.

The first stage in the kingship is that the ruler is leader because he is wise, instructing, guiding, chiding ; each sovereign selecting his heir and controlling the small settled region which was less than the size of a province in the present-day China. As the husbandmen spread out slowly throughout the centuries from the cultivated valleys of the Yellow River, adding to their acres by bartering grain and utensils for the land with the barbarians of the North and the aborigines of the South, semi-civilized colonies become formed and give rise to local groups, which in turn become the germ of little states divided off from one another by natural obstacles. To the west and north it is the Tartars who mix with Chinese ; to the south the aborigines called *Man* who cover both banks of the Yangtsze, and bring to the colonists the knowledge of rice. Language tends to adapt itself to the dialects around it, the Chinese tones being invented to satisfy the needs of the autochthonous population. Religion is not in the hands of the priests ; the father is the priest for his family, the prince for the clan, and the Son of Heaven for the whole people. The Emperor's duties are not a matter of personal belief, but the most important part of his offices ; he is the earthly

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THE PRIMITIVE PICTORIAL WRITING OF THE CHINESE.

The primitive writing of the Chinese is well exemplified in this page taken from the critical study by the Chinese scholar Lo Chen-yü of the characters found on bone and tortoiseshell in sacrificial remains of the Shang dynasty in Honan province.

The character here examined is the primitive symbol for the word "horse" in all its various forms, which can be easily recognized as it is so purely pictorial.

This writing is approximately 3500 years old, and the most ancient so far discovered.

delegate of the whole people. Although he sacrifices to the Supreme Being, he does not forget to worship the host of spirits who preside over the more conspicuous objects of nature, a worship inconsistent with the first belief and paving the way for pantheism. While there are no dogmas regarding a future state, and no one is curious about it, the whole people are timid and anxious to know about the success of their plans in this life. For this reason they have recourse to divination by elaborate and difficult processes which exercise a powerful and disastrous influence on initiative, and are the earliest trace of their culture. In the sacrificial bones of the Shang dynasty, found in Honan and dating perhaps from 1500 B.C., there is the oldest known writing, the characters, cut with a knife, being so purely pictorial and so limited in scope that the age stands proclaimed as infinitely primitive. Yet certain racial tendencies can already be perceived. Growing things abound in these representations; so do beasts of the field and birds of the air; the Nature State is in the making. The chief, attempting to divine what course he should follow by having these messages offered to the flames, has commenced to make writing an instrument of government. Astrology is an important adjunct and there is an official called the Grand Magician; for the belief already obtains that the celestial bodies exercise a powerful influence on human destinies, and that the sun, the moon, the planets, and the comets are able to sway the

fate of the people, each portion of the earth being projected, as it were, on the sky and placed under the protection of a particular constellation.

Thus the early Emperors—the instructors, guides, and king-priests—have an essential quality, Virtue. They must follow a set course ; should they become evil, the dominion is taken from them and given to others more worthy.

If we examine the chronology carefully, it seems plain that only the names of certain of the early kings have survived, and that the whole system is the conventionalizing of an oral tradition. Of the reigns of the “ Three Sovereigns ” (prior to the dynasties, which commence in 2205 B.C.), the shortest is 100 years, the longest 140 years. The three rulers invent the three things on which sovereignty depends : the first worships heaven from a high mountain ; the second discovers agriculture ; the third is called Huang Ti, the symbol of Empire, because he is sovereign of the Yellow Earth. The collective reigns of the second group, “ the Five Emperors ”, extend over a period of 243 years, and they are perhaps the five primary elements.

The main requirements of a colonizing people are food-supply, leadership, defence. Food-supply directly involves the soil and its use, round which there would be endless disputes were there no accepted authority ; and so quite logically, from the most primitive times, the land is held from the Emperor and retained by the cultivator only during

the period when he is serviceable for defence—between the ages of twenty and sixty. Equally logically we find that the office of the legendary rulers is elective—or, better, filled by selection, which opens the way to usurpation, the need for a headship which shall show energy and resourcefulness, when the people are confronted by the great task of settlement in a country still wild and uncivilized, being so insistent that it cannot be denied. To one of these legendary Emperors is given the credit of inaugurating the custom of embroidering representations of birds on the uniforms of the civil officers, and beasts of prey, such as the tiger and the leopard, on those of military officers—plainly a primitive pictorial attempt to communicate to the people the significance of established authority, the custom being continued from dynasty to dynasty for 4000 years down to 1912.

Presently the sovereigns cement the work of civilization by instituting marriage to replace matriarchy, and round this centre “the hundred names” (*po-hsing*) or the clans. As soon as burial has been made a rite, ancestor-worship follows so that obedience to established customs may be preserved. Then comes the great development of writing attained by copying the marks made by the claws of birds on the river-sand; and very early, as with the Egyptians, astronomical observation becomes essential for the agricultural calendar, the study of the course of the sun and moon being an official duty carried out by

pecially appointed officers, who "deliver the seasons" to the inferior people.

Yao and Shun, the most popular figures in Chinese history, and the last two of the legendary Five Emperors, have all the estimable qualities. Yao is declared to have so regulated and polished the people of his domain that they became brightly intelligent; Shun reorganized the administration and selected his successor particularly to deal with the problem of the floods. The division of the nobility into five grades—duke, marquis, earl, viscount, and baron—whose duty it was to protect the frontiers and assist expansion, is attributed to these two rulers: for without duly appointed wardens of the marches the process of conquest could not have gone on.

§ 2

We come to a little more clearness with the first dynasty, the Hsia, said to have been founded by Yü, the Great, in 2205 B.C. Yet the Emperors are still dim figures moving in a vague background like ghosts. Yü was selected for the throne by Shun, the last of the Five Emperors, who, in spite of the virtue proclaimed in the Confucian records, is believed to have usurped the throne from Yao. Yü, by his energy in dealing with the floods in the new territories, which extended between the Yellow River and the Yangtsze, so satisfied the ministers and the people that the Imperial title was vested in

his family, the custom of selecting a successor being henceforth abandoned. In one of the Canonical Books his record, called the Tribute of Yü, is set forth at length: that he actually lived may be accepted, although it is possible that he reigned in the country between the lower Yellow River and the Yangtze at a later period, the date being set back to satisfy chronological requirements. Yü not only subdued the floods: he divided the country into nine provinces and made nine bronze tripods the emblems of Imperial power. For the nine governors of the nine provinces each sent pictures of the remarkable objects of his district, together with some of its metal, to their overlord; and nine tripods were cast bearing representations of all these objects, and placed on the altar of Imperial Ancestors. Thus the Throne increased its powers by creating a tangible relationship between itself and its officials, and assisting the use of pictorial writing.

The Hsia dynasty, lasting 439 years according to the official chronology, marks a definite and important stage in the kingship. The settlement had advanced so far and had won such success that it had commenced to dominate the surrounding peoples. With the next, the Shang dynasty, which lasted 644 years, we reach a period when the working of metals is well understood. The vast Imperial grave-mounds in the old Yellow River provinces of Honan and Shensi prove that the burial of the king had become a mighty thing,

making him in death no less than in life ; his tomb being the storehouse not only of the tradition, but of precious objects. But round the Central Kingdom the numerous semi-civilized communities were growing stronger, possessing particular characteristics and marked ambitions. So the Shang dynasty ends with the ferocity of the Old Testament. The last sovereign, Chou-sin, who was the embodiment of brutality, was wedded to a barbarian wife, whose extravagant cruelties and debauches became odious. Tortures were invented to chastise her critics, including what was called the roasting process. A copper pillar, greased all over, was laid over a pit of live charcoal, and the victims were made to walk across the pillar. When their feet slipped and they fell into the fire, Ta-k'i, the cruel queen, was greatly delighted.

In the Bamboo Books, a series of primitive writings dating from 299 B.C., Wu-wang, the founder of the third dynasty, the Chou dynasty, which instituted the formal period of Imperial authority, is represented as "assembling the barbarians of the West" and the princes to attack the dissolute Shang monarch. This decisive action of Tartar tribes in Chinese history began in 1122 B.C., and was to be continuous for 3000 years, and to entail important consequences for the history of the world.

The Chou kings came from the duchy of Chou, a frontier fief founded in the fourteenth century of the pre-Christian era, on the borders of what are

now Shensi and Kansu provinces, where they were in daily contact with the desert. The future king makes a celebrated speech, called The Great Harangue in the classics, before leading forth his army. In this the conception of the kingship is fully disclosed :

Heaven and earth is the parent of all creatures ; and of all creatures man is the most highly endowed. The sincere, intelligent, and perspicacious among men becomes the great sovereign ; and the great sovereign is the parent of the people. But now Chou-sin, the king of Shang, does not reverence Heaven above, and inflicts calamities on the people below. He has been abandoned to drunkenness, and reckless in lust. He has dared to exercise cruel oppression. Along with criminals he has punished all their relatives. He has put men into office on the hereditary principle. He has made it his pursuit to have palaces, towers, pavilions, embankments, ponds, and all other extravagances, to the most painful injury of you, the myriad people. He has burned and roasted the loyal and good. He has ripped up pregnant women. Great Heaven was moved with indignation, and charged my deceased father Wo-wang reverently to display its majesty ; but he died before the work was completed.

On this account, I Fa (Wu-wang), who am but a little child, have by means of you, the hereditary rulers of my friendly states, contemplated the government of Shang ; but Chou-sin has not a repentant heart. He abides squatting on his heels, not serving God or the spirits of heaven and earth, neglecting also the temple of his ancestors, and not sacrificing in it. The victims and the vessels of millet all become the prey of wicked robbers ; and still he says, " The people are mine ; the decree is

mine", never trying to correct his contemptuous mind. Now Heaven, to protect the inferior people, made for them rulers, and made for them instructors, that they might be able to be aiding to God, and secure the tranquillity of the four quarters of the Empire. In regard to who are criminals and who are not, how dare I give any allowance to my own wishes? Where the strength is the same, measure the virtue of the parties; where the virtue is the same, measure their righteousness. Chou-sin has hundreds of thousands and myriads of minds; I have three thousand ministers, but they have one mind. The iniquity of Shang is full. Heaven gives command to destroy it. If I did not comply with Heaven my iniquity would be as great.

I, who am a little child, early and late am filled with apprehensions. I have received charge from my deceased father Wo-wang; I have offered special sacrifice to God; I have performed the due services to the great Earth—and I lead the multitude of you to execute the punishment appointed by Heaven. Heaven compassionates the people. What the people desire, Heaven will be found to give effect to. Do you aid me. Now is the time! It may not be lost.

After a bloody battle the tyrant is overthrown and killed with his consort. The new king, entering the palace, shoots three arrows into the Emperor's corpse, stabs it with his Tartar dagger, and severs the head from the body and suspends it from a white standard.

The vengeance is complete.

§ 3

Even the Chou kings are primitive and humble, rejoicing in the chase and dreaming of Arcadian peace, as the writing on the Stone Drums, which date from 827 B.C., attests. The Emperor is indeed only the highest of the nobles, and treats without condescension the feudal lords who govern the principalities and dukedoms forming the border states which cluster round the little Central Kingdom. Being the link between heaven and earth, he is Son of Heaven only in so far that as representative of his people he must obey the rulings of the Most High and make reports and sacrifices at the appointed seasons. The lofty mountain-tops are still the sacred places where the sacrifices must be performed, the Altar of Heaven being the conventionalized form which later arose. But already beside the palace the ancestral temple has long existed, and opposite it the shrine of the Earth-god, made of earth, from which each vassal received a clod from that part which faced towards the quarter where his fief was situated. When the Emperor goes forth to war, he is followed by a car in which are placed the stone shaft representing the Earth-god and the wooden tablet of the Imperial Ancestors to stimulate the valour of the soldiery.

The frontier posts between the feudal states and on the borders of the barbarous regions were garrisoned by armed peasantry. At each post was a copy of the Emperor's edict, inscribed on bamboo

tablets, ordering constant vigilance. When the alarm was given, the warrior class was mobilized, the principal instrument of war being the two-wheeled chariot drawn by horses. It carried three mailed warriors—an officer in the middle, a subaltern who passed him his arms on the right, and the charioteer on the left, a troop of soldiers being attached to protect it. The Emperor himself never marched without a guard of 2500 men, high officers having each an escort of 500 men. Large drums gave the signal to advance or retreat; and this music has survived in the funeral processions, which still march forward to the beat of a heavy drum exactly as the army advanced in the remote past.

The armies were divided into left and right wings, according to the formation used in the marching and encampments of the Tartar hordes, the same division being preserved in the police of modern cities after a lapse of 3000 years. On the banners were figures of birds and serpents, and little bells and ribbons, the royal standard bearing the dragon. The five-foot bow, which was the arm of the peasantry, was also the measure of their land, the maximum flight of an arrow, 286 bow-lengths, by the width of one bow, forming the agricultural unit, the Chinese acre; the Chinese mile, which is one-third of an English mile, being the regulated distance between the hamlets.

The organization of state machinery during the reign of the second Chou monarch was distinguished by the same rigid principles. The *Chou-li*, a

work in which the entire government apparatus of the Chou dynasty is set forth, and which has been described as without its equal among the literatures of the world, gives all the fundamental institutions, and shows another instinctive attempt of the race mind to harness together man and nature.

The Prime Minister is called the Mandarin of Heaven and presides over all government affairs. Beside him is the Mandarin of Earth, who is charged with the instruction of the people and with tillage ; and associated with these two are four boards corresponding to the four seasons—the Mandarin of Spring, in charge of state ceremonial ; the Mandarin of Summer, who controls war ; the Mandarin of Autumn, dealing with punishments and brigands ; and the Mandarin of Winter, who oversees public works—symbolical titles which indicate, like the birds and animals embroidered on official dress, the appropriate time for each particular activity. An official called the “ Great Traveller ” was in charge of the ceremonial connected with the reception of visitors to the court, whether from the feudatory states or from foreign lands, besides inspecting the feudatory states and reporting on their population, for the purpose of levying troops.

As with the Central Government, so with the feudal states : their government was modelled on that of the Son of Heaven, and controlled and inspected by him. The most rigid religious ceremonial regulated the daily life of the Emperor, of

the government officers, and of the feudatory lords. There was no act which was not performed with certain ceremonies, the dress, speeches, and postures being prescribed, the aim being to secure immutability of government by depriving all of spontaneous action.

Below the Emperor, the feudal princes, and the government officers were the inferior people. They were divided into nine ranks according to the value of their services to the agricultural state: first stood the producers of grains; then the cultivators of plants and fruit-trees; woodmen, cutting down the forests; those who raise cattle and fowl; artisans who convert raw materials into finished products; the merchants; the wives who spin silk and hemp into clothing; servants, male and female; and, lastly, the miscellaneous class having no fixed occupation.

The agricultural population, holding their land as tenants of their princes, delivered to them a percentage of the cereals proportionate to the fertility of the soil. This was ascertained by special officers, who also instructed the cultivators in the nature of the grains best adapted for their labours, and the time for tilling, sowing, watering, and harvesting. In the *Chou-li* even the fertilization of the fields is not forgotten, precise instructions covering every point so that the strength and salvation of the people should be assured. The production of silk, supposed to have been invented by the wife of the mythical ruler Huang Ti, is likewise supervised in

all its details, the value of this product being recognized from the earliest times and its cultivation assisted in every possible way, while its secrets were jealously guarded. The government, extending its control over every activity of the people, does not attempt conquest by violent means in barbarous regions; it proceeds to civilize the aborigines by conferring titles on their princes, and wins them over by exhibiting to them the manifold excellencies of its own administration.

This age of feudalism and formalism is irrevocably fated to pass. As time goes by, the frontier states, in contact with the northern plateau where lie the great battlefields commemorating the endless contest between the Chinese race and the Tartars, grow stronger and learn more of the art of war. The admirable rules laid down for the conduct of government are suited for placid times and not for storm and stress. Between the founding of the Chou dynasty in 1122 B.C. and the age of Confucius, 551-477 B.C., great cracks appear in the Imperial edifice. The Emperor tends to become a do-nothing king immured in his palace. The weakness of the Imperial Court is made use of to increase the power of the rival states. Confucius and the group of philosophers who succeed him, having before their eyes this inevitable decadence, commence their diatribes, basing their philosophy on the legendary Golden Age which existed in the days of Yao and Shun prior to the establishment of dynastic rule, when it was the single-hearted

purpose of the rulers to promote the happiness of the people.

The evidence was in the archives of the palaces. Writing, being an instrument of government, was a secret no less jealously guarded than the secret of silk, the scribes having taken the place of the Great Magician and his men. With their fine knives, the scribes cut their records on narrow bamboo slips, of which the tally sticks of to-day are the lineal descendants, each group of slips being placed in stiff covers exactly as is still done with Chinese books. Not only in the palace of the Emperors, but in the mansions of the feudal princes, the archives were jealously guarded—the records going back for many hundreds of years.

All this fell into the hands of the great sage, and became the foundation of his system.

§ 4

Taken from his essential environment, Confucius may seem trite and pedantic. Yet he is the quintessence of his race, and there can be no doubt that he has had a greater influence on national life than any other man. Forming his character and his personal views from an endless study of the ancient bamboo documents, he became the expositor of the sages, the expounder of the Chinese tradition. By his magic the dim voices of the past were made audible to the people, and the *chün-tzu* or “princely man” the object of their emulation. In the “Canon

of Rites", a collection of rules describing in the minutest detail the ceremonial to be observed by the gentleman on all occasions, he forced daily life into a mould of etiquette which militated against initiative and spontaneity. Resembling in a certain way the four Roman qualities which were the chief product of Roman home life, *gravitas*, *pietas*, *simplicitas*, and *benevolentia*, his principles differed profoundly in one thing—with him the form usurped the place of the spirit. Out of the life of the family, in which harmony was the most prominent element, there was never to grow anything resembling that great contribution to the intellectual equipment of the world—Roman Law. The Chinese were to become a people with elaborate ethics but with no other protection, the codes of the Emperors remaining to the end a series of summary instructions to executive officers having no foundation in unvarying rights. And this weakness, growing from generation to generation, encouraged the people to remain at heart lawless, relying upon violence as a corrective and unable to do as other races did in codifying their rights.

Whatever Confucius himself did in public was regulated by ceremony. When eating, he did not talk. Although his food might be coarse and poor, he invariably offered a little of it as a sacrifice at every meal with a grave and respectful air. He was superstitious, speaking highly of divination and praising the Book of Changes, that strange system of trigrams invented by the father of the first Chou

Emperor, in which everything good is male and everything destructive female, which explains as nothing else can the Chinese love of the occult. On a sudden clap of thunder, or a violent wind, Confucius would change countenance, showing that he believed in spirits. Once a piece of music played in his honour so overcame him that he refrained from meat for three months: music was an essential part of his ceremonies, true harmony being sought through impressive and melodious sounds. To his management of affairs in the feudal state in which he was born was ascribed a great rise in the ruling duke's fortunes. Everything was regulated—even the food which the different classes of people were allowed to eat was prescribed. Males and females were kept apart from each other on the streets. With the dead as with the living there was an equally precise code—his regulations stipulating the thickness of coffins and the shape and situation of graves, so that every detail affecting the people, in death as in life, should be rigidly controlled.

His original work was confined to the writing of the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, an elaborate criticism of the causes of bad government and the corruption of manners as exemplified in the history of the twelve princes of the state of Lu from 721 B.C. to 487 B.C. His purpose was to show that these evils arose from the abandonment of the ancient doctrines and of the government of the early Emperors. He lamented the position of the Emperor, who formerly visited the princes on tours

of inspection and received at his court visits from them. Now that he was immured in his palace, and greatly exceeded by his vassals in military power, not only had the Imperial tradition been weakened, but war and anarchy had been promoted.

Confucius had understood that life, to be tolerable, must be decorative. Of all the arts, decoration was to him the most subtle, since its essence was the spirit and not the flesh. How to create that spirit, by what means to fortify it so that from one end of the land to the other it would become as mighty as crashing thunder, repeating a message which would be blazoned on the skies—that was his dearest concern. And so he exalted kings, whose purpose is primarily decorative and without whom life is drab-coloured. He knew that what he proclaimed had been thought of by others, but never so clearly and never with the illustrations which the plentiful centuries now afforded. To give life decoration—yes, that was a worthy pursuit, not merely with beauteous silks, or grave music, or altars of wood and stone, but with silence and respect.

This is the essence of the Confucian doctrine. It is from this that springs all Chinese art, a richer domain than philosophy, intelligible to every one because it is the authentic fruit of the tree of life, the expression of a sensitiveness possessed by those who carry the substance of their dreams into the clay around them.

The host of philosophers down to Mencius were

obsessed by criticisms directed towards the same end. Alone Laotzu preached a wild personal freedom, which has been ascribed to the fact that he was an aboriginal. From this we may conclude that the growth of population and the assimilation of local tribes had become such that what had been binding on a sparse population, living in a restricted area surrounded by hostile peoples, no longer met the needs of the time.

A period of change was plainly imminent.

§ 5

The Chou Empire now consisted of eleven states, nine of which had enforced from the shadow Emperor their recognition as kingdoms, and were more powerful than the Son of Heaven himself. The two strongest were the state of Ch'u, extending from the Yangtsze far to the south, and still mainly inhabited by an aboriginal population among whom only the princes and the scholars had the veneer of Chinese civilization; and the state of Ch'in in the north-western angle of the Empire, likewise not strictly Chinese, being composed of barbarian elements racially separate from the Middle Kingdom to which it was united by the ties of paramountcy. This state, reaching down beyond the Yangtsze to what is now Szechuan province, made war on the great southern principedom and gradually vanquished it. Then, by diplomacy and ingenious combinations with other states, its power was

extended through the central and eastern regions until its name became synonymous with terror.

Its military strength was indeed in process of becoming far superior to anything China had yet known because of a single fact. The Tartarization of the northern and western marches of the Empire through close contact with Tartar and Turkish hordes, which were now redoubtable owing to the new methods of war they had learnt from Western Asia, had been for several generations gathering strength. This Tartarization, which was to modify profoundly the traditional Confucian view which had hitherto summed up the Chinese mind, was proceeding in almost every field, and was a sign that the dawn of a new day was at hand.

The most decisive element in the situation was the introduction of cavalry. During the Chou dynasty the horse had been used mainly in harness, the heroes of ancient Chinese history fighting in chariots round which clustered the foot soldiers, who were nothing but armed peasants taken from their labours. The place of the chariot in early days has hitherto been given scant attention. It was a most important element in the process of settlement and in the relationship between the contending states; and so completely did it sum up military strength in the minds of the ancients that a state was spoken of in terms of chariots, the average being one for every thousand inhabitants. In battle the chariot served a double purpose: it was not only the rallying-point for the bowmen and spearmen, but from it the

officer surveyed the field of action. To sit astride a horse and fight on horseback was unknown in China prior to the third century B.C., the custom not reaching the frontier Tartars more than a century or two earlier, having been carried to them by the fathers of the cavalry movement, the steppe-dwelling Iranians or Scythians, who thoroughly domesticated the horse and spread the method throughout the ancient world, thereby overturning so many kingdoms. From the dawn of history the majority of tribes along the Chinese marches had been *Shan Jung* or hill barbarians; and precisely as the mountaineer Manchus were to do eighteen centuries later—thus sealing their military victories—these hill barbarians learnt horse-riding and horse-breeding from hordes farther to the west. In the Chinese classics there is recorded a description of a battle fought in the year 714 B.C. to the north-east of the present Peking, where the northern *Jung* or Huns fight without horses against the Chinese war-chariots, evading them by their agility and spreading dismay by their Fabian tactics.

The acquisition of horse regiments by the northern frontier states, and more particularly by the state of Ch'in, gave their armies a mobility hitherto not dreamed of, and allowed them to overwhelm the central and northern territories of the Empire by new tactics. Soon the loose robes of the Confucian era disappeared at the courts of these northern princes and were replaced by tight-fitting trousers and tunics and "horse waistcoats".

Leather boots also made their appearance and took the place of the sandals of straw or hemp which had already a known history of 2000 years, and which survive in Central and Southern China to this day. The Ch'in principality, being situated in what is now the province of Shensi, could be attacked in its mountain home only through the famous Hanku Pass. Making its capital, Hsianfu, a great entrenched camp, its armies poured forth at all points and wrecked its rivals before they were ready to take the field, even the Imperial state of Chou, the sacred domain of the Emperors, being used as a passage-way in defiance of every precept.

The end of the feudal system came suddenly and curiously. As a result of treaties it had become customary to send princes of the blood as hostages to the courts of contracting states to secure that various stipulations should be carried out. To the east of Ch'in was a second semi-Tartar state called Chao, a state that was sometimes an ally and sometimes an enemy; at its capital, Hantan, the grandson of the ruling Ch'in prince resided as hostage. A clever intriguer who had as mistress one of the famous women of Chinese history, known as "the Lady of Hantan", married her to this youth after she was pregnant; she gave birth to a son who was to become no less a person than the famous Emperor Ch'in Shih Huang, the burner of the books, and the builder of the Great Wall. Round this astounding episode a whole literature has arisen. Although modern critics still hesitate to accept the

categorical assertion of the Confucian scholars, whose undying hatred was soon to be aroused by the destruction of their literature, the evidence seems conclusive that the natural offspring of a dancing-girl and a sly merchant inherited an Empire whose origin is lost in the mists of antiquity.

— In 251 B.C. the ruling prince of Ch'in died, which made the hostage youth Crown Prince. Escaping home from his captivity, and soon followed by his wife and child, he applied himself to the task in hand. The dying Chou dynasty still lingered on, limited to the eastern part of the dominion, and watching with terror the drama of war. But in 249 B.C. the state of Ch'in put an end to this last remnant of the once glorious dynasty by making the Chou king prisoner and annexing his territory. Immediately after this the prince of Ch'in died and the hostage youth succeeded him. By making the clever intriguer his Prime Minister with almost unlimited powers, he paved the way for the last inevitable act. After a brief reign he too disappeared—by poison—leaving the offspring of the Lady of Hantan, then thirteen years old, to succeed him in 246 B.C.

It was as Prince or King of Ch'in that the famous Emperor spent the first twenty-five years of his reign, destroying principalities and breaking down the vestiges of the past. Full of energy and possessing great personal strength, he found his favourite exercise in walking, which alone marked him out as apart from every other Chinese ruler. In 220 B.C.,

when he was thirty-eight years of age, having now firm control, he declared himself Son of Heaven and worshipped at the Temple of Imperial Ancestors. Seating himself on the throne, with a drawn sword in his hand as the symbol of his power, he opened his reign as the first Emperor of a consolidated China, publicly contending that there never had been an Emperor before. Gone in any case was the mystical Empire of which Yü's nine sacred tripods were the emblem and seal—the tripods which had been in the hands of the Chou kings for nigh upon a millennium, ever since they had been conquered from the last vicious Emperor Chou-sin of the Shang dynasty. For the tripods of Yü the Great disappear from history very mysteriously at this date. What happened to them no one knows. But the Han bronzes contain numerous little pictures of men diving in rivers for the missing emblems, showing that it was a tradition in the succeeding dynasty that they had been cast into a watery grave by faithful adherents so that they should escape the final desecration of falling into the hands of a usurper. Nothing better symbolizes Ch'in Shih Huang's rule and his significance in Chinese history than that the priestly past should have been so totally abolished.

§ 6

The problem before him—consolidation—had, however, only been partially solved. The feudal

states, it is true, had disappeared, shattered by the war of movement. But the price of victory could not be paid solely by arms. Other factors entered into consideration. The Flowery Kingdom had become a region of high culture, with many philosophies and many schools of thought. Even though the princes were vanquished, there were the scholars to think of. And to the west and north, the Tartars, ever growing in strength and well informed of conditions in this rich domain, were eager to sow dissensions so that they might participate in the spoils.

Two acts, which are still important to the people, had become essential : first, to destroy once and for all the foundation of the influence of the men' of letters, their books ; then to cut off the country permanently from the arid and barbarous regions of the high plateau. But these decisions were not immediate. Their necessity shaped itself only slowly and ponderously, and years of disputation and military expeditions had still to be lived. The scholars were not disposed to accept defeat. Many of them had been the confidants and advisers of the defeated feudal princes. They had not limited themselves to letters ; philosophers from before the time of Confucius had been Prime Ministers and had introduced economic laws which last to this day. The monopoly of salt and the monopoly of iron were due to the excellent advice given by the philosopher Kuantzu to his duke in the seventh century B.C. The iron industry of China assumed

such important dimensions in the pre-Christian era that even Pliny says that of all iron coming to Roman market the Chinese (*Sericum ferrum*) was the best. The salt monopoly had so greatly flourished that it was the treasure-chest which paid for Ch'in Shih Huang's campaigns, having grown twenty-fold in two centuries. In the domain of diplomacy the scholars had also rendered eminent services, travelling from court to court and showing exactly how human nature could be made the servant of the Prince. No wonder that as the emergence of the unitary Empire from the welter of war became understood, the bitterness of the opposing forces should increase.

In 213 B.C. the contest reached its crisis. Ch'in Shih Huang had never offered sacrifices from the summits of the sacred mountains as every Emperor from the remotest antiquity had done before; clearly he despised the simplicity of the ancients and all that book-learning laid down. Bitterly and publicly was he now denounced, until it was impossible to ignore the challenge any longer. Summoning to the capital all the governors and officers who had consolidated the country into a single Empire by their valour, he opened a congress in his palaces, with their countless pavilions and terraces erected from the spoils of the vanquished states. Placing his officials opposite the scholars, he invited a criticism of his government and a debate on the methods which should be henceforth pursued. The governors and the officers lauded his policy, which had divided

the Empire into thirty-six administrative areas and done away with the jealousies of the territorial princes ; the scholars categorically demanded the redivision of the Empire into principalities, declaring that what had been done was a defiance of the sanctified bases of government, and an invitation to national disaster. The scholars were denounced as lovers of a government of pure speculation—of a phantom vanishing the nearer it was approached ; they were secret enemies of the Throne. Their mouths should be for ever closed.

The Emperor forthwith proscribed all books except those treating of medicine, agriculture, and divination—the men of learning were to be buried alive in the Tartar way as a punishment if they resisted. The destruction was carried out vigorously and pitilessly from one end of the country to the other by fire, so that in future men who wished to learn could only gain a knowledge of the law from the Imperial officials.

Such was the famous burning of the books.

It is a curious and interesting fact that the writing brush had just been invented and was taking the place of the knife in transcribing characters.

Ch'in Shih Huang appears to have been led to his second act—the building of the Great Wall—by the same practical considerations. His conquering armies had pushed far out into the Mongolian deserts ; but the garrisons were difficult to maintain, and the state of warfare remained unending. In

the circumstances it was only natural that a method familiar on the border should be applied wholesale to the problem in hand.

The earlier great walls, dating possibly from the seventh century B.C., had been built by the feudal states to ward off chariot attacks among themselves just as much as to oppose the Tartars. It is known that the northern state of Chao and the state of Yen had lines of earthworks extending round exposed points long before Ch'in Shih Huang's time, all the mountain passes being closed by little citadels; walled cities, with flanking works, had been familiar objects throughout the country still earlier. The dense forests which still covered the northern mountainous country had also made palisades a familiar defence. The greatness of Ch'in Shih Huang's work was in its conception. Although his wall did not really run from desert Kansu to the sea, as has been claimed, but probably ended in the mountains above Peking — later dynasties extending and consolidating it—it is enough that he should have conceived such an impregnable line. In the loess country of the north-west it appears to have been built entirely of earth, with flanking towers for small garrisons, and advance works from which smoke signals could be sent. In the rocky regions of Shansi and Chihli it was more substantial, being formed of stone; but it needed nearly a thousand years of history before it was entirely completed and faced with brick. It is, however, clearly recorded that Ch'in Shih Huang

went in person to the sea extremity and there had built the great rampart which stands to this day and which is pierced by a gateway grandiloquently named "The First Gateway of the World".

§ 7

If the burning of the books and the building of the Great Wall mark the beginning of the modern period in the domination of the Emperors, so can it be said that from that day two enemies sit for ever on the footsteps of the throne. The internal enemy is the revolt which learning and casuistry bring : the external enemy, the barbarian haunting the mountainous and fortified approaches to the Chinese plains. For although Confucianism had become the natural theology of the disinherited, by the proclamation of new austerities and the adherence of new votaries, its gods were to be reinvigorated and finally to triumph. Now that a barrier of earth and stone advertised that the approaches were closed for ever, the forbidden fruit of the plains seemed to the barbarians more delectable than before. Imperative necessity no doubt justified everything that had been done. What was needed in China was force. The memory of the prehistoric Yellow River days had become dim ; then, a supreme earthly agent to intercede for the people against the aborigines and the floods and the savage beasts had been all that was necessary. That was now clearly inadequate, and Ch'in Shih Huang was merely interpreting the times.

For a new order had come. A fusion had taken place in two thousand years of history. The black-haired people had multiplied beyond all count, and with the approach of the Christian era had acquired a wealth and an ease of living which was in striking contrast to the condition of the warlike denizens of the arid north and the retreating aborigines of the south. The things which had made the feudatories as great as, if not greater than, the central prince—vitality due to collision with barbarians, and extent of territory—had been expunged by consolidation; and the Chinese people were now a self-contained race with uniform characteristics. True, the rule of the sword was to be a dangerous rule, leaving less behind than the rule of the law. Ch'in Shih Huang died, failing to establish his line, and earning as retribution for all his harshness the destruction of his marvellous palaces and pavilions, which, built with the spoil of a dozen shattered capitals, are said to have extended for nearly twenty miles and to have burnt and smouldered like a vast funeral pyre for nearly three months when they were set alight. Even his great tomb, cut into the side of a mountain, was not spared. It had been faced with bronze to protect it, and in it was a set of miniature palaces for all the branches of the administration, together with rare objects and many jewels. Artisans had made cross-bows which were fixed to the walls so as automatically to release arrows and transfix those who sought to rifle it.

On the floor of the tomb was a complete representation of the geography of the Empire, with rivers and mountains and the frontier sea. The roof was studded with the heavenly phenomena, everything being shown correctly to serve as a guide and consolation to his spirit. Immense torches had been made with the fat of seals to remain alight long enough to show the Great Conqueror his way to the land of shades : numbers of his wives were cruelly strangled and buried with him ; and when his coffin had been sealed into the inmost recess and all the funeral rites completed, a heavy door of iron fell into place locking in to a cruel death all the workmen and artisans who knew the secrets of the treasures buried there, so that no one should ever reveal them. In spite of these endless precautions all was discovered and soon nothing remained. But the one thing which no thieving hand could take from him was the name he had given to the country for all time—China ; for China is nothing but the historic name of the state of Ch'in in its modern form.

§ 8

The dead man's iron will gave birth to a strong dynasty which continued his work. A welter of tiny states, it is true, founded by his generals, were the immediate consequence of his death, twenty little kingdoms springing up, and vanishing as suddenly when a true leader appeared.

The Han dynasty, founded in 202 B.C. at Loyang

and lasting 427 years, is counted the most glorious period of Chinese history. Not only were its arms triumphant, but the work of the Han editors in recovering and reconstituting the classical texts gave to its warrior kings the aspect of literary patrons. Ch'in Shih Huang's edict for the destruction of the books was recalled in 191 B.C., and a stone tower was built at the capital to shelter all the ancient texts that could be recovered. But the Book of Music was never found, and the harmony which Confucius believed was the basis of government was lost. The military expeditions of the new dynasty went to every point of the compass—excepting east, where was the unknown sea—and completed what Ch'in Shih Huang had commenced. Korea and the Liaotung were invaded. The whole seaboard of Tonkin and Annam was laid under contribution. Through Yunnan and Burma an attempt was made to reach India, dwindling to failure because of the difficulties of the road.

But it was west—sheer west—that lay the proudest triumph of the Han. There their armies established posts on the borders of Bactria and Parthia, creating the famous silk-route to the Mediterranean, and giving China for the first time some knowledge of the mighty Roman Empire. A new era was thus opened in its relations with foreign nations. For though there are obscure references in ancient literature to the journey of an early king of the Chou to beyond the Desert of Shifting Sands to the court of a queen called the

Western Mother Queen (who has been ingeniously identified as the Queen of Sheba), there is nothing to show that dynastic China had any knowledge of the classical world before this age. The military skill of the great Han Emperor Wu Ti overshadows indeed that of his predecessor Ch'in Shih Huang. Ascending the throne and reigning for fifty-five years, he commenced the remarkable western expansion of the Empire by driving in a great wedge between the Tibetan, Turkish, and Hunnish tribes, thus establishing Chinese predominance to a point in High Asia 5000 miles from the Chinese coast.

The great displacement of peoples which had occurred as a result of the march of Alexander the Great on India and the establishment of the Macedonian Empire two centuries before, had facilitated this. The break-up of this domination was the signal for a struggle among all the peoples of Central Asia for the fragments. From the confines of the Roman Orient—Syria—to the grasslands east of the Gobi Desert there was a duel between barbarian and barbarian which had no end. The Emperor Wu Ti, dimly realizing this, decided to send an ambassador who should try and establish for him the primacy of Chinese civilization. Travelling through Tartar and Turkish country almost to the borders of the Caspian Sea, this legate encountered remarkable adventures, and won remarkable successes which were cemented later by military victories. To his astonishment he found

that he had been preceded by Chinese cloth and Chinese silk which had come from the south-western provinces. Questioning the merchants, he found that all these wares reached Central and Western Asia by way of India ; and carrying back to the court this tale, he brought the first inkling of an intercommunication by land routes which must have existed from the dawn of history.

Chinese cavalry generals continued the work. Pushing out from the western extremity of the Great Wall, and building a chain of fortified posts which extended to beyond Lob-nor, a military embassy brought kingdom after kingdom to submit, so that in the century before the Christian era the number of tributary states was fifty-five. Chinese military colonies were thereafter planted. An envoy reached the Persian Gulf in an effort to enter into communication with the Roman Orient by taking ship, but, depressed by the stories of the sailors who declared that years might be vainly spent in battling against storms, he returned empty-handed.

Meanwhile the struggle with the Tartars continued year after year, a desperate and unending struggle. In the first century of the Christian era, China was revived by the emergence of the celebrated general Pan Chao, who, if he did not actually water his horses at the Caspian Sea, carried the Chinese standards farther west than they had ever been before—coming within 1200 miles of the Mediterranean. The great silk-route was now so well established that the Latin poets have copious

references to it, Ptolemy in his geography giving the exact itinerary to the Chinese border.

The first century of the Christian era passed and the second was well advanced before the weakening of the Emperors clearly manifested itself. The causes which operate in China so repeatedly and so differentiate its civilization from Western civilizations are not obscure. Since law has no place in the State, the whim of the ruler being all-powerful, the selection by each ruler of his heir opens the door to complots and anarchy. The work of government, where everything is personal, demands energy and application, and only those monarchs who have worked all day have really governed ; as soon as a weakling appears authority is relaxed. And so we have in natural sequence, self-indulgence, intrigue, massacre, revolt. The smallness of the population in relation to the task of Empire must also have been an important factor. There could not have been more than ten or fifteen million people at the time of the Han. To this relatively small group had fallen an immense task demanding unceasing energy and stout leadership. Exhausted by the conquest of Central Asia, and by the unflagging effort against the border Tartars, the Empire had become impoverished. Literature and poetry, although greatly enriched, could do little to inspire fresh efforts, the celebrated historian, Sze Ma-ts'ien, the Herodotus of his country, and the first man to construct a reasoned view of the early times, having been rewarded by the great

Emperor Wu Ti for telling the truth by being made a eunuch.

§ 9

Thereafter there is a long period of descent following the great ascent, an epoch of minor dynasties, of small warring kingdoms, a condition of turmoil which lasts practically from A.D. 221 to 618 and the founding of the great T'ang dynasty. The distant garrisons disappear, incessant warfare in the interior provinces calling back every man: the frontier colonies are gradually lost. In the romantic story of the Three Kingdoms, which becomes an epic as the Han power fades away, there are features which show that the primitive society is no more. A rebel army arises, called the Yellow Bonnets, who lurk in the hills and are the first mention of the sort of political banditry which still survives. Walled cities, which had been limited to the frontier lands, become the rule, each district making its market town a citadel to protect its wealth and a sanctuary against oppression. But knighthood is also in flower, an exotic Chinese knighthood with strange gallantries. From the struggles of the Three Kingdoms step out figures like Kuan-yü, the perfect warrior, a veritable Bayard of the East, without fear and without reproach. He falls into the hands of the great traitor of the age, the minister Ts'ao-ts'ao, who is conspiring to seize the Han throne. Wishing to corrupt him, Ts'ao-ts'ao shuts him up with the

two beautiful wives of the Emperor's supporter, but the story declares that instead of succumbing, he mounts guard over the two, standing the long night through at the door with a candle in his hand, a faint light which is not yet extinguished. For his memory is so beloved that temples devoted to him, called Laoyeh Miao, or the gentleman's temple, still dot the country, in which loyalty is worshipped, loyalty to virtue as well as loyalty to the Throne.

The turmoil continues, the warrior age ending in a burst of small warring kingdoms. Each prince who attempts to seize power is either corrupted or assassinated. Numbers of loyal officials seek safety in contiguous territories where there is comparative quiet, Tonkin, Annam, Korea, and even Japan becoming havens. Five hundred years later it is calculated that one-third of the Japanese nobility show by their names that they are of Korean or Chinese descent—proving that the flight of notables from the mainland to these fortunate isles must have been constant. For a period of 150 years nine out of ten rulers are barbarians, *i.e.* non-Chinese of Tartar or Turkish stock, the walled defence line of the North being crushed in at a dozen points and the Chinese plains occupied. This is followed by a period of open division between North and South, the Yangtsze River remaining the dividing line. Meanwhile there is a rapid spread of exotic religions such as Buddhism, in which an Emperor becomes so absorbed that he abdicates the throne to become a monk. All



IN A CHINESE MONASTERY.

A dense array of carved Buddhist disciples in the gallery of one of the hill monasteries near Peking, showing mixed Indo-Chinese influences and strong Græco-Roman traces.

through this troubled period Buddhism makes great progress. The disciples of Buddha, themselves persecuted by the Brahmans, having scattered south to Ceylon and thence to Burma and Siam, and north to Cashmere and Nepaul, crossed the Chinese frontiers in numbers, translating the *Sutras* and winning countless adherents. Many Buddhist monasteries were founded by the fourth century, the first Chinese pilgrim, Fa-hsien, whose book, *Description of the Western Countries*, has been for ever lost, proceeding by land to India in 399. A vigorous immigrant, fresh and lusty with life, the Buddhism of the first centuries was an inspiration to the Chinese and profoundly modified their art and literature and general views. Though stupid princes gave their holy books to the flames and crushed their temples, it opened their eyes to a new world.

The minor Sui dynasty, founded in A.D. 587, begins to bring back sanity and consolidation, and in 618 the great T'ang dynasty is established by a general born amid Tartar surroundings in Shansi, who, like so many of the vigorous Chinese rulers, must have had his share of Tartar blood.

§ 10

The efflorescence of the T'ang dynasty, resembling the Italian age celebrated by Petrarch, is destined to remain for ever renowned throughout the Eastern Seas. It was then that Confucius ascended

to his seat of honour as the apostle of the Golden Age, an ethic to compel obedience and make the political overlordship supreme through reason being instinctively accepted as the greatest desideratum of the hour. Formalism and uniformity were established by the inauguration in A.D. 630 of the great system of State examinations in the Confucian classics, a system which lasted for almost 1300 years unchanged in all its essentials. Writing, which had been halting and primitive in the days of the Han, was now developed into beautiful brush-work which no Western hands are sensitive and delicate enough to imitate. In these spacious times art and learning flourish while beautiful things abound—the bursting into flower of seeds long planted. The charm of the gorgeous and melancholy loveliness of the T'ang period indeed lingers to this day like sweet fragrance in the air. Paintings and silks, and rich and fanciful poetry are laid as offerings at the feet of the Emperors by the endless scholars and artists who crowd the capital. Printing is discovered by the simple process of making rubbings from the classics, which, long engraved on stone, are now cut on wood, and so multiplied that they crown China's Augustan age. Li T'ai-po, the peerless poet of the day, composes marvellous odes and then drowns himself after a drunken bout, trying to embrace his image cast on the waters of the Yangtsze by the fickle moon. An Empress, the Imperial widow Wu Tse-tien, comes out of a Buddhist convent and

rivals in energy and statecraft a Catherine of Russia. Imperial mistresses such as Yang Kuei-fei, whose fragrance is wafted down the centuries like the scent of the jasmine, give the story a dramatic colour it never previously possessed. Their complots become the complots of another and richer Byzantium; and the yellow robes of the Emperors are stained with the crimson of their blood.

The halcyon days pass, "*Sogno d' infermi e fola di romanzi*", a sick man's dream, a fable of romance.

If we inquire why such a period should be inaugurated after the four hundred years of trivial happenings which separate the T'ang dynasty from the Han, the reasons seem simple. Two circumstances, and only two, tend to destroy the placid development and uneventful lives of the great agricultural community—strong foes on the frontier, and weakness in the palace. Now, as the great bulk of the Tartar foes had been drawn westward, finding Europe a greater magnet than Asia, the pressure on the Chinese frontier was relaxed; and by the seventh century a united country had become possible again. The founder of the T'ang dynasty and his heir fought their way to dominion by frontier wars, and brought vigour to the palace, the very name of the dynasty being that of a district in the uncouth border province of Shansi. It required only six years to crush all resistance and extinguish the numerous little principalities. The consolidation in the provinces was followed by

purification in the capital. Three thousand women in the palace were sent back to their homes. The famous Imperial college was built with a library of 200,000 volumes, and to this college came the children of the kings of Korea and of all the princes and great men of the Empire. The Emperor, a scholar himself, writes a treatise called *The Rule of Sovereigns and the Virtues which should be inculcated and the Errors which should be avoided*. The growth of the Empire and its riches do not fail to attract new perils, since it is from the T'ang dynasty that date the long series of wars with the Tibetans, who take the place of the Tartars. But a vigorous rule all through the first century of its existence fortifies the dynasty against every assault ; and as its renown spreads embassies come from even India and Persia, on the borders of which still live the descendants of Chinese colonies established during the Han period.

Buddhism, now a religion of luxury for the race, develops so rapidly that 12,000 bonzes crowd the capital. The rise of the Arabs through the rapid spread of Mahommedanism brings a new complication ; soon they are entering into alliances with the kingdoms of Central Asia and marching towards the Chinese frontier. Mistaken at first by the Chinese for Persians, they are finally conciliated and enter the country, not as conquerors, but as missionaries of their faith and mercenaries offering their services to the Throne. The ambassadors of the Caliph Haroun-Al-Raschid reach China in A.D. 798, per-

forming the *kowtow* and gaining consideration. Mosques are permitted to appear, so constructed that their roofs are one foot lower than the Imperial temples, with tablets of obedience to the Emperor, and nothing but miniature minarets hidden in their courts, being thus crushed into the common mould of Chinese life.

Meanwhile, together with this movement bringing China into closer cultural relations with the outer world, the stature of the home gods grows. Confucius, hitherto honoured as a sage and a master, is created a prince in 739, and his tablets are removed from the east side of the temples to the north—the highest honour. In 754 the famous Hanlin Academy is established, charged with the preparation of all literary and historical works and panegyrics for the illustrious dead. Since appointment to office demands a meticulous knowledge of the classics, ten thousand diligent students sit poring over the crabbed tomes which are printed from wooden blocks eight centuries before Europe learns the art.

In 781 there is another great cultural event: a monument is raised commemorating the entry of Christianity, the celebrated Nestorian monument of Hsianfu, marked with a cross and possessing an inscription in Chinese and in Syriac, which shows that Nestorian priests first arrived in China in 635.

§ II

The wars recommence on every side, domestic wars, frontier wars—together with corruption in the palace. The Empire shrinks, so does the population. While it is difficult to know how to treat the figures in the dynastic records, as the area covered is never stated, according to what is there given, in A.D. 726 the State counted 7,069,565 families with a total of 41,419,712 persons. In the year 754 another census declared that there were 321 towns of the first class, 1558 market towns, and 9,619,254 families, making in all 52,880,488 persons. Twenty-six years later, in the year 780, a new count gives only 3,085,076 families and 768,000 soldiers. What has happened to the masses previously claimed as dwelling in the Emperor's domains? The riddle will never be solved. That the population should be so variable and the soldiery so numerous is perhaps the most valuable comment on the nature of the rule.

The feudal period now threatens to return. Little states, claiming hereditary rights of succession, appear in North China, and as one weakling Emperor succeeds another, the situation becomes more and more desperate. By the beginning of the tenth century the Empire is reduced to the central provinces of Honan and Shantung, with a few faithful governors in adjoining districts. For a century the rulers had been nothing but the playthings of ministers and eunuchs, the Empire

continuing to go on simply from its own momentum. Submitting to powerful neighbours because its own decay could not be concealed, the dynasty was fated to be supplanted by the leaders of armies. Without an aristocracy to perpetuate the traditions of the country, the scholars alone could keep alight the torch and support the virtue of the people.

The T'ang dynasty finally disappears in 907 in a different way from the other great dynasties. The Han had quietly died through the struggle between the three aspiring kingdoms in a battle area extending from far south of the Yangtsze River to north of the Yellow River. The Chou dynasty had been destroyed by the war of movement of the Ch'in princes, who had learnt cavalry tactics from the Tartars. The last of the Shang monarchs had been coldly killed in his palace with his infamous consort Ta-k'i, and his body shot through with arrows to cancel the heavenly mandate. The T'ang dynasty dies from constriction, the Emperor's domain becoming so small that, when there is nothing left but the capital city, a pretender assumes the Imperial title.

This is the period called the Five Dynasties, five dynasties lasting in all fifty-three years, and masquerading as legitimate by assuming the title or style of previous dynasties with the suffix "posterior" to differentiate them. They offer no interest whatever. Massacres, treacheries, and endless names follow one another in unlimited profusion. The period might well be passed over in silence

were it not for a remarkable circumstance—the advent of the Kitan Tartars, a Manchu race, who, suddenly springing into prominence in 905, were to make Peking their headquarters and found the Liao or Iron dynasty, drawing the capital 500 miles away from the cradle of Chinese civilization and abandoning the Yellow River which had been the historic centre for thirty centuries.

Hitherto the barbarians who had entered China had come from the north-west or the west. But the Kitans were from the north-east, the first of the Manchu races to spring into prominence. Camping in the regions round Jehol and Shan-haikwan, they gradually won possession of all the fortified passes and succeeded in transferring the centre of military power to a point immediately under the shadow of the Great Wall.

§ 12

The domination of the Kitans was the result of a long and laborious campaign. Its first object was to throw the Chinese dominion south of the Yellow River; and it was not until the advent of the Sung dynasty in 960, a rule of minor importance compared to the other great periods in Chinese history, although rich in literature and art, that the Tartars entrenched themselves permanently in Peking. This northern realm beneath the shadow of the monstrous fortification raised by Ch'in Shih Huang a thousand years before was a challenge which

could not be ignored. The Sung dynasty, placing its capital immediately south of the Yellow River at Kaifeng, where the battle could be controlled, was after a struggle of 146 years to submit to the greatest degradation the Throne had ever encountered. Yet all through this period embassies from distant southern kingdoms, bringing with them the traditional tribute, the elephant, the rhinoceros, the pearls, and the ivory, continue to arrive, showing that invasion had not destroyed the Chinese suzerainty which rested upon its proud civilization.

The frontiers of the Empire become harder and harder to define. Sometimes 50,000 troops shut themselves up in a walled city and refuse to deliver battle, offering the Tartars safe-conduct to other fat cities if they themselves are left in peace. The Chinese dynasty itself frequently purchases long truces by agreeing to furnish supplies of silver and tens of thousands of rolls of silk. In 1015 there is a fresh count of the population of the Empire, which is stated to be 9,955,729 families, making no more than 21,096,965 persons—an incredible arithmetic, since it limits each household to two persons, but perhaps justified by incessant war.

In the twelfth century another race of Manchu-Tartars, the Kin, who live in Northern Manchuria, determine to dispute the mastery of North China with the Kitans, and after a series of battles defeat the older race and themselves assume the Imperial title at Peking. The Sung sovereigns, sunk in

sloth, and occupying themselves with the superstitions of Taoism, are no longer able to withstand their enemies. The Kin Tartars propose that thenceforth the Yellow River shall be the definite boundary between the two empires, and impose a tribute on the court of half a million taels of gold, fifty million taels of silver, and a million rolls of silk. Even this is not enough. The Yellow River is crossed; there is a bloody battle and the final ignominy. The two Sung Emperors, a father who has abdicated and his son, together with the whole court, are taken prisoners in 1127 and sent in a long wailing column into Tartary.

Yet because no war ever ends in China, the war goes on. For the first time in history the Yangtsze valley is invaded by Tartar hordes, who pursue the prince who has assumed the Imperial title. He is hunted from place to place south of the Yangtsze region, but, always at a disadvantage where water is concerned, the Tartars fail to seize him when he takes ship. Battles and sieges, fully reported in the dynastic histories, dreary with names which appear only to disappear, punctuate the years, and the tide of invasion at last ebbs back. The Chinese court establishes itself permanently near the Yangtsze mouth at Hangchow, and during this period art and literature flourish greatly.

There is a third invasion on the horizon; a third Tartar group calling themselves Mongols begin to stir in the region north of the Gobi Desert, a tiny group at first, but fated to become immense

through the dread name of Genghiz Khan. And while this cloud gathers, the Kin go on with their gigantic plans to win the whole of China. By 1161 they have gathered an army of 600,000 men south of the Yellow River, and, dividing it into twelve corps, commence a massed attack which after many slow months breaks into tiny fragments and finally loses itself in the immensity of the interior provinces as water loses itself in sand. The Kin had played their allotted part and had prepared the way for others.

§ 13

The Mongols mobilized near the Siberian-Mongolian frontier in 1206 and set forth to claim their share of the spoils. There must have been much talk among all these nomads in the three hundred years which had elapsed since the first Kitan invasion had pierced the Great Wall. The story of the loot of Chinese cities must have been the great epic of the desert. Chinese art and industry were never brisker than in these days of political subservience, and the richness of their wares could not but fascinate men who had nothing but their herds and their arms. The potter and the painter, the carver and the weaver plied their trades undisturbed by the clash of arms, spared whenever massacres occurred because they were men of value; coveted by the conquerors because they contributed to the glory of each conquest. The Sung dynasty, distinguished by the richness

of its paintings and the purity of its porcelains, had revived the great tradition which the T'ang sovereigns had left, and in their southern capital of Hangchow, the home of silk, the Emperors created new miracles of luxury.

Genghiz Khan, riding magnificently on to the stage unencumbered by restraints, spreads terror—terror among the Kin as much as among the Chinese. But China is to be but one of many victims. The Mongol hordes go west as well as south, and there is so much to engage them in Central Asia that they are content at first with mere forays inside the Great Wall. It is from their savage massacres in Central Asia rather than their actions on the Chinese border that their name becomes the synonym for cruelty; for although they invade the northern Chinese provinces as early as 1213, they are conciliated with rich presents and retire. Their bloody work goes on elsewhere. Bokhara, Samarkand, Balkh, and the rich cities of Persia are delivered over to the sword, even the tomb of the Caliph Haroun-Al-Raschid being razed to the ground. South-eastern Europe is invaded and the tide rolls so far west that China is apparently forgotten. The Mongol cavalry, however, remains *en vedette* on the Chinese border, watching the Kin Empire with the eyes of a lynx, and noting the steady weakening which the routine war between the two courts produces.

In 1225 Genghiz Khan leaves his camp to attack the Tibetan-Turkish kingdom of Tangkut,

in North-western China. He dies there two years later after a doubtful victory, dividing the whole Asiatic empire between four sons, the fourth receiving the territories of the Far East with the order to complete the conquest of China. A long period of guerrilla warfare follows. But steadily working down towards the south through the mountain masses of the north-west, and abetted by the Chinese dynasty, the Mongols at last pierce through to the great Chinese plain, and their cavalry invests the Kin capital at Kaifengfu in Honan.

This city, with ramparts forty miles long, is defended by only 40,000 soldiery, and is filled with 1,400,000 families, all the countryside having been driven in to take refuge. A bitter struggle commences. The Mongols surround the doomed capital with an earthen rampart fifty miles long, and night and day their war engines hurl blocks of stone at the towers. Both sides fight with the energy of despair. Once the siege is raised, then resumed. A revolution breaks out in the town, which in the end is surrendered. The victorious Mongol generals ask their Khan for permission for the customary sack and massacre; but this is refused because the population shelters hosts of artists and artisans necessary for the embellishment of the new Empire. By 1233 the remaining cities acknowledging the Kin Emperor surrender and the dynasty is no more. Thus ends this first period of Tartar domination which had lasted over three hundred years on

Chinese soil, and taken from Chinese sovereigns half their domain.

The Mongols were face to face with the Sung dynasty.

§ 14

Negotiations and treacheries usher in the final phase of the struggle, and years go by before there is anything decisive. Not until Kublai Khan succeeds to high dignity, and is placed in charge of the Chinese territories in 1251, is a definite programme settled upon. In 1258 he crosses the Yangtsze River for the first time and commences the attack on the Yangtsze valley. In 1260, when he returns north to Peking, he is proclaimed Emperor of China. In 1263, openly adopting many Chinese customs, he builds a Ceremonial Hall of Ancestors and orders Buddhist rites for his forebears.

But the domains of the Sung beckon to him in the midst of this new magnificence, and soon the war has burst out anew. In the investment of Chinese cities the Mongols employ foreigners to manage their engines of war, just as the Turks were to do with their cannon two centuries later in the final destruction of Constantinople and the Byzantine Empire. Nestorian Christians, Arabs, and Germans figure in the accounts of desperate engagements. The siege of Hsiang Yang on the mid-Yangtsze becomes the most famous siege in Chinese history. Lasting three years, it was to

decide whether Mongol ferocity was equal to Chinese deadweight. Flotillas of boats appear and disappear, wresting victory from the invaders whenever it is almost in their grasp. Nature flings herself into the struggle. The crushing heat of Chinese summers is withstood with difficulty ; and again and again the Mongols fall back in dismay. In the end the city is captured, and the victors pour down the Yangtze valley to Nanking, which also falls into their hands. Soon the Sung Emperor has only a fugitive court and flees by ship to Canton. All that is left of his Empire is an immense fleet, carrying the population of the capital, who live in the dread of their last hour. The ruthless Mongols appear at last, having ridden down the coast 800 miles. They attack with fire-ships. The court attempts to flee with a small squadron, but fails. The last Sung sovereign leaps into the sea, with his Empress and her children, the Seal of Empire being found on his dead body. After having reigned for 320 years, the Sung disappear more tragically than any other dynasty.

The Mongols are now masters of the whole Chinese Empire. They have done that which all the barbarians of the north had failed to do in the long duel which had commenced with the dawn of Chinese history. From 1278 their Empire in China is not only undisputed but spreads south to Tonkin and Burma and east to Korea. Prodigies of valour are performed by small bands of horsemen who never hesitate to attack large armies, and by

their impetuosity drive them from the field. Kublai Khan is not, however, content with mere military renown. He builds the great Confucian temple in Peking and establishes an observatory which can still be seen. The construction of *Ta-tu*, "the Great Court", follows, a tribute to the influence of Chinese culture, which has commenced vanquishing the barbarian almost before the barbarian has vanquished the country.

Large and generous in his ideas, this Mongol ruler inaugurates a period when foreigners of many nations begin to arrive by the overland route and are made welcome; for the conquest which had carried Mongol arms into Europe and destroyed so many kingdoms had cut a road along which all men might travel in safety. Soon those whose writings have become famous were the familiars of the Mongol rulers and opened a story which is not yet completed. Marvellous tales had attracted them. The report had long circulated in Christendom that there was a Christian potentate in Central Asia called Prester John, who seemed designed to serve as a connecting link between the European Church and the Eastern adherents of the religion of Jesus. Born in the twelfth century at the time of the Crusades, this legend of Prester John would not die, and had no doubt arisen as a dim knowledge of Nestorian Christianity in Central Asia had penetrated to the camps over which floated the banner of the Cross. In such accounts truth was mixed with fiction. The Nestorian Church,

whose authentic history remains to be written, had lingered on throughout the centuries in the wastes of Asia, supported by a feeble organization, there being as late as the fourteenth century no less than twenty-five metropolitans under the Chaldean Patriarch, whose sees extended from Jerusalem to China. Princes and notables in the vague region then called Tartary undoubtedly professed this primitive faith until a very late period ; and Chinese literature has recently revealed a series of Christian names used during all this era in what is now the north-western border province of Kansu, such as *Pao-lou-se* (Paul), *Yo-nan* (John), *Ya-kou* (Jacob), *Lou-ho* (Luke), and *Yi-cho* (Jesus). From Syriac the Uighur alphabet was formed ; from the Uighur came the Mongol and Manchu script, thus establishing a definite circle of relationship between the Christianity of Western Asia and the culture of Tartary.

The Church of Rome, already engaged in an attempt to unite the Greek Church to its own hierarchy, could not but be interested in the presence of Nestorianism in China, and envoys from the Popes commenced to arrive. The first was John de Plano Carpini, who, leaving Europe in 1245, reached the camp of the Khan Ogotai in Mongolia two years later, but whose journeys never extended to China. Other later comers saw European captives working as artisans, Hungarians, Germans, and even a Paris watchmaker being mentioned ; but the Nestorian Church was found to be weak

and hardly recognizable except in one or two localities. The bodyguard of the great Khan was, however, composed of Christian Sarmatians, called Alin, descendants of men who had been left behind when the early Hun invasions had swept Eastern Europe, and who had been brought to the Chinese domain by Genghiz Khan and his heirs to serve as a corps of janissaries. It was part of this bodyguard who, being placed in charge of the assault on a Chinese city in 1275, were massacred by the Sung general after he had pretended to surrender to them and had made them drunk with Chinese wine—the first hint in Far Eastern records that it was known that those from Europe were addicted to strong liquors.

Of all the early travellers who witnessed this dawn of relations with Europe, Marco Polo is the most celebrated because of his book. Reaching the court of Kublai Khan in Peking in 1275, he lived in China for seventeen years, and it is his account that has thrown most light on these strange days when the fragments of medievalism were being thrown hither and thither by conquests and collapses. He describes the magnificence of the new palace in these terms :

You must know that it is the greatest Palace that ever was. Towards the north it is in contact with the outer wall, whilst towards the south there is a vacant space which the Barons and the soldiers are constantly traversing. The Palace itself hath no upper story, but is all on the ground floor, only the basement is raised some ten palms

above the surrounding soil, and this elevation is retained by a wall of marble raised to the level of the pavement, two paces in width and projecting beyond the base of the Palace so as to form a kind of terrace-walk by which people can pass round the building, and which is exposed to view, whilst on the outer edge of the wall there is a very fine pillared balustrade ; and up to this the people are allowed to come. The roof is very lofty, and the walls of the Palace are all covered with gold and silver. They are also adorned with representations of dragons (sculptured and gilt), beasts and birds, knights and idols, and sundry other subjects. And on the ceiling, too, you see nothing but gold and silver and painting. (On each of the four sides there is a great marble staircase leading to the top of the marble wall, and forming the approach to the Palace.) The Hall of the Palace is so large that it could easily dine six thousand people ; and it is quite a marvel to see how many rooms there are besides. The building is altogether so vast, so rich, and so beautiful, that no man on earth could design anything superior to it. The outside of the roof also is all coloured with vermilion and yellow and green and blue and other hues, which are fixed with a varnish so fine and exquisite that they shine like crystal, and lend a resplendent lustre to the Palace as seen for a great way round. This roof is made, too, with such strength and solidity that it is fit to last for ever.

After Marco Polo came John de Monte Corvino, who reached Peking in 1289 and founded the first mission ; throughout the Mongol period the Roman Catholic Church was represented not only in the capital, but in the port of embarkation in South China known under its Arab name Zaytoun—the modern Foochow. The toleration of these newly

civilized barbarians was such that the Church flourished exceedingly, this being the only period in Chinese history when Christianity had a government office to oversee and protect it.

§ 15

To the energetic and wise Kublai Khan an Emperor of no importance succeeded ; and soon it became clear that the dynasty from the desert could not survive. Although the Mongols might have learnt from their contact with Europe a more permanent rule than anything contained in the Chinese system, the indifference of the Emperors and their love of pleasure proved fatal. Gradually the hold of the administration in the provinces was relaxed. The control, which had been originally purely military, was transferred to a Chinese Cabinet, presided over by a Mongol. The governorship of the cities, which were recognized as potential centres of trouble, was specially provided for ; but there were not enough men for the garrisons, and the days had passed when small bands of Mongol soldiery could dominate the countless millions. Even at the height of his power Genghiz Khan's army had comprised not more than 185,000 men ; Kublai Khan had had to be content with half that number, filling his gaps with mercenaries. The Mongol elections, which had formerly been held by the whole Mongol *Kouriltai* or council of chiefs and notables, had been changed to the Chinese system of nomina-

tion of the heir by the Emperor or the Empress ; to secure that nomination there were desperate intrigues. In these disputes the lamas of the Tibetan Church, who had won a position of predominance, interfered increasingly, and soon there was little left of the early vigour of Mongol rule.

Although the collapse did not come until 1368, risings commenced as early as 1337. Imitating the Yellow Caps of the Han period, the Red Caps of Honan province proclaimed a pretender Sung Emperor, showing that the memory of the Chinese dynasty had survived. The Red Caps were soon beaten, but other rebels followed them ; and at last out of a monastery came the founder of the Ming dynasty, a militant monk, named Hung Wu, who, seizing the sword in 1356, commenced the campaign which in twelve years yielded him the throne. First the Yangtsze region was cleared : then the struggle was extended to the Yellow River. When that was over, the methods of the secret societies were adopted, and the last Mongol garrisons in the north, who were billeted in the houses of the people, were simultaneously slaughtered by means of a written order circulated in the moon-cakes which are eaten on the full moon festival of the Chinese August. A few days later Hung Wu entered the capital.

In this way does the Mongol dynasty fade back into the desert wastes, after a hundred years of Empire, a whole race lamenting the glory of Peking and the Khan's great entrenched camp.

§ 16

Hung Wu, the Beggar Emperor, as he was called from his humble beginnings, was now master of a reunited Empire after a period of schism and submission which had lasted just under five hundred years. The founder of an unchallenged Chinese dynasty, he was able to win immense support from the people and to crush the last adherents of the Mongols on the northern frontiers. He revived at once the administration of the T'ang period with its six ministries and meticulous regulations, and restored the old dress. Cutting a grand highway from Nanking, which was his own capital, to Peking, he sought to bind the country together. But almost at once he created nine states, at the head of which he placed his nine sons with the title of prince, an atavistic impulse in direct contradiction to the official system of administration which divided the country into fifteen provinces. It was in vain that he laid down admirable moral principles which he caused to be engraved on stone, and which were the source of the so-called Sacred Edicts of the later Manchu sovereigns K'ang Hsi and Ch'ien Lung, who merely paraphrased his words. By his own act in giving his sons territorial rank he prepared to have his will set aside.

He had made the fourth son Prince of Yen (Peking) because of his military accomplishments, his heir being his eldest son, who was an incompetent. Realizing that he had committed a mistake,

he delayed acting, however, until it was too late ; for the eldest son died prematurely and the heirship passed to a grandson on the eve of Hung Wu's own death. Round this centres the first drama of the dynasty.

The capital was still in Nanking, in the neighbourhood of which the dynasty had arisen. Realizing that there was danger in the situation, the court decreed that the princes of the elder generation were forbidden to approach the young Emperor, and as a final precaution they were deprived of their rank. The inevitable then occurred. The Prince of Yen launched a manifesto and in 1400 advanced to the attack of Nanking. After a three years' campaign he crossed the Yangtsze and appeared before the walls of the capital. The court was panic-stricken. The Emperor, sitting in the midst of his councillors, contemplated suicide ; but in his misery was told that there existed a locked casket left by the founder of the dynasty with the order that it should only be used in the last extremity. The Emperor at once sent for it, and on being opened it was found to contain the complete robes of a Buddhist priest, together with the scissors to cut off the hair, and a cryptic message written in red ink, instructing him to leave the city by a water-gate and take refuge in a temple. The Emperor obeyed and fled with twenty-seven of his faithful retainers disguised as monks, never knowing that the casket was only the invention of the courtiers to save their own lives.

In this wise did the Prince of Yen obtain possession of the throne and become Emperor under the name of Yung Lo, slaughtering, according to the dynastic histories, no less than 873 officials in Nanking to revenge himself for their opposition—a holocaust which caused the general opposition to spread. It was the flight of the legitimate Emperor to the distant south-western province of Yunnan which led to the extensive Chinese colonization of a region that was still largely inhabited by aborigines.

Vigour being the basis of all statecraft in China, the harsh rule of the third Ming sovereign shed what little lustre the dynasty ever had. It was Yung Lo who definitely transferred the capital from Nanking to Peking in 1421, rebuilding the city on a magnificent scale and redesigning the palaces after the models of an Anhui monk, who imitated much that is found in Buddhist temples and broke up the Forbidden City into endless courtyards and pavilions through which priests and eunuchs silently moved and wove the webs which finally involved the monarchs in ruin. A Persian embassy reaching Peking in 1421 in the midst of this reconstruction which was to have such a direct influence on the destinies of the Empire, found the work in full progress, with tens of thousands of huts on the gigantic city walls and hundreds of thousands of men employed in building solid brick faces to ramparts which until then had been of earth. It was through a gap in the uncompleted walls that they reached the precincts of the palace.

§ 17

Yung Lo, in spite of his energy, prepared the ruin of his dynasty by admitting eunuchs to the affairs of State. The history of the *castratus* in China is surrounded by obscurity; for although originally in the Chou dynasty castration had been a punishment for criminals, it became a deliberate means of securing admittance to the palace owing to a custom borrowed from other Asiatic states. In all the earlier dynasties, however, the eunuchs were nothing but palace servants, without rank or position. But when women commenced to assume predominance in government in the T'ang dynasty, the eunuchs gained in importance; having constant access to the inner apartments, they became the necessary intermediaries between the Empresses and the outer world. Yung Lo, finding that their acquaintance with court affairs was extensive and complete, relied upon their knowledge of the political predilections of important men after his usurpation, and conferred on them official posts. After his death their promotion was carried a step further when four scholars were placed in charge of the education of all boy eunuchs, of whom there were always several hundred in the palace. As early as 1438—fourteen years after the death of Yung Lo—a eunuch was president of a Council of Regency. For a dynasty that was still exposed to Tartar attacks the development was fatal. While elsewhere in Asia there have not been wanting examples of

military virtue among the eunuchs, in China every army so commanded has gone down to defeat.

The loose federation of provinces held together by gifts of princely titles, and by temporary immunity from organized attacks, through natural processes slowly acquired a largeness and a solidity undreamed of by the earlier monarchs. In 1502 the population was returned at 53,000,000 people, which showed a substantial increase and spoke of well-being. Yet in the palace intrigue followed intrigue. Throughout the reigns of the sixteen sovereigns of the Ming House there is the same monotonous story: princes, imperial concubines, eunuchs, and priests plotting to secure that the succession to the throne should pass to their favourite, Taoist priests even promising one sovereign the elixir of immortality if he would destroy the adherents of the more popular Buddhist faith who filled the court and controlled the women.

A new fear, the fear of Japan, for a time dragged men from this somnolence; for the Japanese had become redoubtable raiders of the Chinese coast in the sixteenth century, and proclaimed their vigour through the expedition of Hideyoshi, that Asiatic Napoleon, to Korea. But the degeneracy of the ruling house was such that even this peril taught nothing of value.

Hideyoshi's object was the conquest of China—the country of fabled riches—not the subjugation of Korea; the reports brought back by the raiders had excited far-reaching cupidity and seemed to

promise an easy victory. From the Shantung promontory to south of the Yangtsze the Japanese pirates had worked their will ; the population had in places abandoned the coast, the defences of Weihaiwei and of Shanghai having been specially built to afford protection against such attacks. The six years' campaign in Korea, from 1592 to 1598, was, however, a failure, Chinese troops pouring in from Manchuria to protect their vassal state in sufficient numbers to check the advance and to force an ultimate retreat.

It was during the reign of the thirteenth sovereign, Wan Li, that the last phase of the Ming was reached.

§ 18

Some years prior to the Japanese war the Manchu tribes in South-eastern Manchuria had commenced to stir. Racially allied to the Kin Tartars, who had clung so desperately to the Chinese Throne that they had broken it in half, their story was to be very similar. Battling with the Chinese governors of the settled districts in Manchuria, they so increased their power that early in the seventeenth century they had become a kingdom. In 1622 Mukden was made a walled capital. Korea was repeatedly invaded, and in the end, to save themselves, the Koreans acknowledged Manchu suzerainty. Alliances with the neighbouring Mongols converted the Manchu fighting force into cavalry, and having thus gained in mobility the war was prosecuted

with increased vigour. Totally unlettered at first, they invented a script of their own by borrowing and improving upon the Mongol alphabet; schools were formed, and soon there was a literature in which Chinese rudiments largely figured. As their power increased, large numbers of Chinese beyond the Great Wall surrendered to them, shaving their heads and adopting the Manchu queue in token of submission, by far the most convincing mark of conquest any dynasty had ever imposed on the people.

Contemporaneously with this frontier contest, rebellions broke out in Southern and Western China owing to the weakness of a eunuch-ridden court. As in the time of the Sung dynasty, indecision was fated to destroy the Throne; the Chinese sovereigns disposed of a population fifty times greater than this small mountain tribe, and had there been courage among them, history would tell a different story.

In 1629 the Manchu leaders held a grand council of war at which were present all the Manchu and Mongol princes, and in which it was decided to form an army divided into eight corps to prosecute the campaign—the origin of the famous Eight Banners that carried out the conquest of China. Fifteen years of varying fighting followed, in which the Manchus appeared again and again before the gates of Peking, only to be forced back on account of overwhelming armies and the impregnability of the city walls. Significantly, while their horsemen rode round and round these mighty bastions

shouting their defiance and vainly discharging their arrows at the painted towers, the chiefs offered sacrifices at the tombs of the Kin as an honour to their race.

It was in these circumstances that the rebellion in the western provinces suddenly reached its climax through the emergence of a leader of talent, Li Tzu-ch'êng. Fighting his way forward during years of varying fortunes, he finally reached the capital in 1644 at the head of a ragged army of several hundred thousand men. He sent in two eunuchs to demand the abdication of the Emperor; a third eunuch opened the city gates to him. The last Ming Emperor, abandoned by every one but a single retainer, hanged himself on a tree in his palace grounds, and his capital was at once occupied. Li Tzu-ch'êng set fire to the palaces and the city gates and massacred the Imperial family, but did not proclaim himself successor, as he might have done.

The bulk of the Ming army was still at the barrier town of Shanhaikwan, defending the main passes of the Great Wall. The general commanding, Wu San Kuei, who was loyal to the Imperial house, at once sent a message to the Manchus offering a truce so that the two armies might combine against the rebels. The Manchus consent, their whole force breaking camp and travelling 250 miles in a week. Marching together, the two armies encounter the rebel and inflict on him defeat. Under the walls of Peking there is a last battle, which, like the others,

is won by the Manchu cavalry. Regarded as the saviours of the Empire, the Manchus are now received officially by the metropolitan officials, who come out in great crowds to welcome them. But no sooner are they in the city than they seize all the gates, and the Empire is lost.

§ 19

The Manchu conquest of China is as close to the present generation of Chinese as the Franco-Prussian war is to the French or the romance of the sailing-ship to the English: its history has shaped the moods and thoughts of the people and disturbed their dreams. For the good government which was thus inaugurated was a type of rule which, while nominally all that the most ardent worshipper of formalism could demand, subdued the spirit of the people and revealed to them more than anything had ever done before that they were helots. Government was no longer a mystical function, obscured by remoteness and vagueness, and hallowed by a ritual so elaborate that a ministry devoted to its observances could scarcely complete its daily work. Force of arms, together with a Manchu caste system, was to give it a severely practical aspect, together with a rigidity and a double control which were un-Chinese. Nevertheless, although this force was symbolized by the Eight Banners, swelled to 360,000 men through new Chinese contingents, characteristically it was in its first stage no conquest

at all. Changing nothing in the capital but the title board on the Dynastic Gate of the palace, which 250 years later was found to cover over the name of the Ming dynasty which could still be clearly read beneath, the Manchus sought by artifice and conciliation to subdue opposition. All the officials of the Ming dynasty were ordered to remain at their posts, the only change being the shaved forehead, which, more powerfully than any edict could have done, impressed on every man that he was the subject of a new monarch. Each board or ministry became a diarchy ; for associated with the Chinese presidents and vice-presidents were Manchu presidents and vice-presidents, thus establishing a "balance" which was a better insurance of official good conduct than a complete change. The general Wu San Kuei, who had naïvely supposed that the Manchus would be willing to retire when their work had been completed, was conciliated by good treatment : he was named "Prince Pacificator of the West" and placed in charge of armies despatched against the mountain region where the rebels had taken refuge, a region which extended from Shansi to Szechuan.

Sending hastily to Manchuria, the Manchus now summoned all their kinsmen to the new capital, to which was transferred their military and civil administration. For weeks the roads from the Liao River were crowded with covered wagons, carrying the womenfolk and children, the aged and the infirm, to feast on this rich new prize ; while from

the Mongolian plateau the allied tribesmen poured down in their thousands to offer their services to those whose efforts had been crowned with such signal success.

One of the first acts of the new government was to forbid for ever the conferring of official posts on the eunuchs, showing that what had happened was fully appreciated by them. Later, in edict after edict, the pains and penalties for transgressing the order were steadily increased. Not only were eunuchs to be put to death, together with those officials who had entered into relations with them, but they were to be quartered, the severest punishment in the code. While their influence slightly increased in the period of decadence in the nineteenth century, it is a historic fact that the severity of the Manchu regulations was such that never again were they anything but privileged servants.

Having thus consolidated their hold on the capital, the Manchus were ready for the rest. Using as their first weapon the pen, they write to the last adherents of the Mings at Nanking, with a courtesy which covers up their threat, the very remarkable despatch which follows, a despatch constituting an important footnote on dynastic history:

It is said that the revenge of a wrong done to one's sovereign or to one's father admits of no compromise. We have also heard that to help a neighbouring state out of its trouble and to release it from misery is a friendly duty. Your Emperor Tai Tsou of the Ming dynasty

drove away the barbarous Mongols, thus getting revenge for us. After him, good rulers succeeded one another and the people were satisfied. During the last part of the Ming dynasty, officials were corrupt, the people poor, and bandits abounded. But the late Emperor, the last of the Ming dynasty, broadened the action of kindness and filial piety with his own constantly practised virtue.

Now the rebellious thief, Li Tzu Ch'êng, forgetting the Imperial favour of generations, has committed treason against Heaven by poisoning the country and making war on the government with his gang of bandits, burning the palaces and compelling the Emperor and Empress to commit suicide for the sake of satisfying his blind ambitions. He wasted treasures and maltreated the people. The wrath of Heaven is incurred. The sun and moon darken. The Emperor of the great Manchu dynasty, acting on the principle of rightful revenge, has punished the wrongdoers and extended his sympathy to the wronged by putting brigandage to an end. The bandits ran away as soon as our army was mobilized. The rebel chief will be captured, his followers executed.

I, therefore, encamped my army in Peking, consoled the people, performed the mourning ceremonies for your late Emperor, conferred on him posthumous titles, and built him a mausoleum. We rebuilt the palace precincts and the Imperial gardens. We buried the members of the Imperial family with proper ceremonies. We have preserved everything of the late Emperor. The Imperial clansmen were taken care of. Your scholars and generals, who showed their loyalty, have been rewarded and honoured. Taxation has been reduced. The wise and able have been recruited to our service. We have done the utmost for your people.

But the Ming dynasty had no rightful successors to

the throne. Circumstances prevented it from continuing. Hence, we have removed from Manchuria to settle in Peking. We are now training our army for a clean sweep of the rebels, so that the myriads may once more live in peace. We have no ambition for the territories of the country. Our purpose is only to save China.

If you, brave officers, loyal officials, and faithful subjects of the South, want revenge for the Ming dynasty in co-operation with us, you will be given ranks and titles in our government. If you still cherish the memories of the past dynasty and desire to maintain it in territories beyond the Great River, we shall not forbid. But you must not betray our country and you must have peace with us. We shall remember the favour of our predecessor and you shall play the rôle of friendly neighbours. If you know that you are no match for us and surrender to us, we shall put you in prominent positions in our army for the invasion of the West. If you subdue your neighbouring places and come to our midst, we promise you participation in our happiness, glory, and fame. All the surrendered territories shall be exempt from taxes for two years. Other favours will be conferred by later edicts. Without a proper sovereign, the people's heart cannot be set at rest. If you show schemes of resistance by enthroning a fool or a weakling, or secretly work against us by the deception of open surrender, you will become traitors to our people and enemies of our country.

We shall subjugate the western regions first, then mobilize our army southward to put an end to your insubordination. Ah! It is easy to decide whether to follow or to resist; so try to be loyal ministers and principled subjects. There shall be no difference between the North and the South when both become blessed subjects of our heavenly Empire.

No better summary of all that had gone before in Chinese history could be found than in this summons: it discloses the essence of Chinese rule, its essential peculiarities. For while the Manchus declare that the Throne is already theirs, because the Ming dynasty had no rightful successors, they recall the days of the Kin and Sung, and introduce a veiled offer to make the same division of empire as then existed, with the Yangtsze River as boundary, if their Imperial title is not contested. Not for nothing do the invaders remember that more necessary to their rule than victorious battalions is the victory of the moral arm: what had occurred twice before, at the time of the Kin Tartars and of the Mongol dynasty, has not been forgotten by them.

Thus characteristically does the argument proceed, with admirable despatch-writing in which politics and military considerations are mixed with symbolism and superstition; with never a hint about force except to exhibit its ugly features, virtue and correctness being the supreme arguments, as if they had ever won anything where passion and ambition were involved.

For the Ming adherents the struggle is not yet over. Far better would it be for these men who extol their own conduct to declare themselves obedient and thus bring concordance between Heaven and Earth again. The final decree of a super-philosophy, which unites the square earth to the round sky, is invoked by the last representative

of the Mings already enthroned at Nanking in a proud and wistful reply, written by their minister, which does not even consider the hint of a division of the country and remains purposely blind to the military action which has already taken place:

. . . The fact that the rebel chief is still at large brings troubles to you as well as making me ashamed. But you are wrong in your contention that the men of the South have forgotten the wrongs done to their Emperor and are stealing comfort from the troublous situation. Our position is this: our late Emperor respected Heaven, followed the good precedents of his ancestors, loved his people, and busied himself with State affairs; in short, he was as great an Emperor as Yao and Shun. The incident of March the nineteenth (the suicide of the Emperor) was a result of betrayal brought about by incapable ministers. I, waiting for punishments due me on the one hand, and hurrying to the relief of the Emperor on the other; heard of the tragic event while my army encamped on the banks of the Huai River. Nothing can describe my sorrows. Ah! how I have sinned! Even if I were executed in public as a warning to the incapable, I would not be able to right the wrongs already done to the late Emperor.

At that time, the people of the South felt as grief-stricken as for the death of their parents. They struck their breasts, gnashed their teeth; and desired to send all the able-bodied men of the East and the South to put down the murderer and enemy. But the experienced officials, on account of the downfall of the Peking Government, the suicide of the Emperor, and the importance of reorganizing the administration, decided to enthrone the reigning Emperor, who is a grandson of Emperor Shun Tsung, a nephew of Emperor Kuang Tsung, and an elder

brother of the late Emperor. He has the right to the throne, the Mandate of Heaven, and the support of popular opinion.

On the first of May, when the Emperor arrived at Nanking, he was received by myriads of people who thronged the streets and whose cheers reverberated far and wide. Then the ministers of state persuaded him to ascend the throne. He was overcome with grief. Only after his repeated declinations were rejected did he promise to act as a regent. It was not until the fifteenth of the month, after ministers and people had petitioned him again and again, that he consented to be crowned. Prior to his coronation, phoenix gathered in the city, the river stream appeared clear, and other symptoms of peace and prosperity abounded. On the day of coronation, purple clouds surrounded the city like a fan, and lumber floated out from the Great River for the reconstruction of the Palaces. Are these not signs of the Heavenly Mandate?

. . . The Imperial dynasty had occupied the throne for sixteen generations, one succeeding another in the direct line of descent. It has helped the extinct to perpetuate themselves and the downfallen to exist. It extended favours far and wide. Have you forgotten that your country used to be a vassal state of ours? Our archives can show you records of our suzerainty. . . . You came into China to help the Ming Dynasty. Your army was sent for the principle of righteousness. You can set a noble example of friendship and righteousness for posterity. But if you capitalize our disaster, cast away our friendship, resume hostility, and try to satisfy your territorial ambition, you will be ending a righteous cause with greedy action and making a farce of yourself. Is that what you are doing? . . .

The Emperor, his officers, and the people are all anxious to put down the rebellion even at the sacrifice of their lives. It is time for the rebel Li Tzu Ch'êng to perish. Our proverb says, "The planning of virtue must be thorough; the abolition of evil must be exhaustive". Now the rebel is still at large. It not only means that our revenge has not been complete, but your abolition of the evil is not yet exhaustive; I pray you to carry out the campaign of putting down a common foe and maintaining the principle with which you started your campaign. Let us combine our forces for an invasion of the West and put down the rebels. Then your noble example of justice and righteousness will shine in history for ever; we will do our best to reward you, and the two countries will live in permanent friendship and peace. . . .

But the cavalry trumpets of the Manchus had already sounded their note of victory; it was impossible to change it into one of retreat. The planning had not been a matter of a day; it had been as careful and as deliberate as anything in history. Every factor making for empire had been considered. An entire generation had been given over not only to the career of arms but to the up-building of an adequate civilization which mixed the culture of the Chinese with the tradition of the war of movement of the fallen Mongols.

The trumpets blew again their fierce music and the victorious banners poured down the banks of the Grand Canal towards the south. At the Yellow River the Ming adherents, gathering all the peasantry together in tens of thousands, as the ancient kings did, and furnishing them with countless flags and

pikes, vainly imagined that this great display would be sufficient to halt the advance. But the Tartars recklessly pour across the river in what boats they can find : they fall on the peasantry like a thunderbolt, and the defence is no more. As they pursue their way forward with a speed unknown since the time of the Mongols, the wave of conquest is clearly marked by the shaven heads of the inhabitants, who, kneeling before the horsemen, beseech clemency as they exhibit this mark of submission. Soon the Yangtsze is reached and the north bank overrun. The fleet, which has been assembled to resist the invaders, hoists sail and disappears, and the road to Nanking is left open. Dimly out of this past come the echoes of the capture of Yangchow, which commands the entrance to the Grand Canal, a siege and sack rivalling in horrors the siege and sack of Constantinople and chastising beyond recovery the adherents of the Ming. The Emperor flees. The Tartars, appearing before the walls of Nanking only fifteen months after Wu San Kuei had asked their help at the Great Wall, are given the keys of the second capital. The Ming Emperors become phantom Emperors, flitting vaguely from province to province : a new prince is named for the succession each time a claimant is killed, the dynasty disappearing, never to be heard of again, in a last battle on the shores of the Canton delta, precisely as the Sung had done.

Even in this last extremity the old divisions between men of the same race reveal themselves :

the provinces are torn by civil war waged by various leaders vainly attempting to found separate kingdoms and hating each other as much as they hate the invader. The Manchus, the farther they penetrate into the country and see its immensity and complexity, realize the precariousness of their dominion. As they had done with the metropolitan bureaucracy, so now with the provinces do they find it necessary to divide to rule. Plainly this had been in their minds when they had written their despatch to the Ming minister ; they had already formulated the idea of great principalities in South China so as to avoid dissipating their meagre military strength. Now in addition to the general Wu San Kuei, who is made the Prince of the South-west (Szechuan and Yunnan), two others become the Princes of Kwangtung and Fukhien respectively.

§ 20

When the great K'ang Hsi ascends the throne nearly twenty years later (1662) the work of subjugation is still going on, for China is a vast land and new rifts are constantly occurring. Even the general Wu San Kuei, named Prince Pacificator, who had delivered the Empire to the Manchus, is led in his old age to revolt for fear that if he does not act his life will be forfeited. Donning Chinese dress once again, he abolishes in his domain the Manchu calendar and claims the Ming suc-

cession. The Yangtsze provinces rise in his favour. So do the two other Chinese feudatory princes, but a desperate campaign ends disastrously for them all, and in 1673 Wu San Kuei is captured and put to death. Thereafter the principalities are abolished and the southern provinces are assimilated to the general Manchu system with small Tartar garrisons at strategic points. K'ang Hsi's efforts, which are continued during all his immense reign of nearly sixty-two years, prove that the secret of successful Asiatic rule is hard work and the possession of a long life. Beginning his day at three o'clock in the morning and working with little rest until the sun had set, K'ang Hsi establishes a tradition which is scrupulously followed by his son Yung Chêng and his grandson Ch'ien Lung. Between them the three rule 134 years and attest for all time that the government of the Chinese can be easily attained by three characteristics—work, regularity, continuity.

Following up what had been done by the first sovereign, K'ang Hsi not only crushed the last resistance in the provinces, but set to work to rearrange the whole of Mongolia, which under the Ming dynasty had relapsed into independence, in such a way that its boundaries were definitely fixed and the Russian peril abated. Throwing back the Cossacks, who had already reached the Amur River, he declined to accept that river as boundary and left them the shores of Lake Baikal only because that seemed far distant. Boldly attacking all who resisted him, he soon had recovered the entire

domain of Central Asia, which had been first garrisoned under the Han dynasty. By incorporating all the Mongols of fighting value in his Banners, he materially added to his military power, the Manchu stock itself having only provided 60,000 fighting men in the first instance, a smaller body than either Genghiz Khan or Kublai Khan had possessed, and one of the most convincing proofs ever afforded of what energy can do.

§ 21

But if by such means—and particularly by a persistent military pressure alien to the Chinese nature—the Emperors of the new dynasty succeeded in establishing a solid rule such as had not been known for 2000 years, and then only in a small and limited area, in other departments their enterprise was just as remarkable and their innovations just as great.

The diarchy in each ministry, and the placing of Tartar garrisons at strategic points, were but two of their devices. Through their alliance with the Lama Church they claimed Tibet as within their territory. They regularized their suzerainty in those buffer regions, Korea, Annam, Burma, Siam, and Nepaul, by donating them their calendar, although what had once been military predominance was now nothing more than a ceremonial observance. The new body of officialdom was also controlled by a doctrine which had no equal in the world and

which was invented to prevent disloyalty—the law of mutual responsibility requiring one official to be answerable for the offence of another. Promulgated by the first Manchu Emperor, it required that a record of the birthplace and family history for three generations back had to be submitted to and certified by the local authorities for every candidate for government employ, and that for any error mutual responsibility required the superior and subordinate to suffer alike. Extended in the course of time until the principle enveloped the whole administration, the law of mutual responsibility bound the bureaucracy to the dynasty and became the pivot on which the government machinery turned.

In rewards as well as in punishment it had the same application: when officials rendered conspicuous service, those who had originally recommended them shared in the appreciation of the Throne. It locked together the society of the mandarins as nothing before had done and made every man conscious of a new solidarity. The pilgrimage to Peking was essential before receiving a government appointment; the return thither after the completion of each three-year term was designed to create a direct control of the people by making every official depend directly on the favour of the court. Censorship of books was added to the censorship exercised over officials which had existed from the earliest times. Education became so bound up with the system of civil service

examinations that it only existed for the purpose of supplying candidates for government posts. By placing the students in the provinces, who in the later years of the Manchu regime numbered no less than 575,000, under the direct supervision of Educational Commissioners, and making them automatically members of the gentry as soon as they had been admitted to a district college, the *intelligenza* of the country was converted into a submissive class which knew no literature excepting 200 books officially sanctioned by the Emperor, and wrote no essays except in praise of the Throne. The sovereigns of the Manchu dynasty, understanding that Ch'in Shih Huang, who had burnt the books in the pre-Christian era, had aimed at uniformity by destroying the authorities dear to the advocates of the separate states, applied much the same ideas but varied the method.

These enactments were also a studied effort to nullify the vastness of the country and the absence of communications by a system of moral centralization.

Yet within the bounds of this comprehensive system there were deep feuds, caused by the jealousies of the princes as well as by the jealousies of the two rival races of officials who were forced to a common task on a basis of equality. In the reign of Yung Chêng, K'ang Hsi's son, two significant steps were taken. In order to secure that the succession should be both undisputed and secret, this monarch wrote with his own hands the

name of the selected prince on a small sheet of paper, which was placed in a sealed casket and ceremoniously deposited in one of the great halls. Calling together the princes and high dignitaries of the Empire, he indicated where the nomination of the heir had been secreted. He furthermore placed a copy of this paper in a tiny purse which never left his person day and night. On the eve of his death both receptacles were opened and found to contain the magic name of Ch'ien Lung, his fourth son. Not for nothing had these precautions been taken. K'ang Hsi, the second sovereign, had had thirty-five sons and twenty daughters. It had been necessary for him to change the succession several times; and in so doing he had so disrupted the Imperial family that many princes had been cast into prison. Once again was it being proved that the absence of the law of primogeniture, like the absence of any true juridical conceptions in any department of the State, was the fundamental defect of the Chinese kingship.

The second step was the creation in 1732 of the so-called Grand Council, the Supreme Court of the Secrets of the Emperor, which met every morning at four o'clock within the precincts of the palace to receive the Imperial orders, and which possessed a secretariat on duty at all hours of the day and night. Being in essence a military council, it soon displaced the innovation of the Ming dynasty, the Grand Secretariat, which, working directly under the summary edict of the Throne, had been substituted

for the ancient system of independent Prime Ministers who directed the secular affairs of the Empire detached from the person of the Emperor.

This new departure, designed to suppress provincial risings, accentuated the tendency towards an absolutism unknown in the early period of the Chinese State, and was a further source of danger. For in ancient times the respect shown to the Prime Minister—the Mandarin of Heaven—had matched the power and influence of the Emperor himself. All officials at court had been called upon to salute him when they saw him, the Emperor himself rising from his throne to receive him when he entered the Hall of Audience, and alighting from his sedan chair if he met him on the street. The possession of such a functionary had served to protect the Emperor, and to segregate him from those gross political intrigues which distract every Asiatic court.

What existed in the palace was soon transferred to the offices of the provincial officials. The ceremonies of the Imperial audience were applied to the audiences given by a superior to an inferior official, the dignity of the Emperor on his throne being enjoyed by every official in his own office. The same degree of incommunicability that hindered communication between the Emperor and his servants destroyed the contact between the lesser officials and the people. The officials, being indifferent to public opinion, kept out of touch with it and merely overawed the populace with their retinues, or frightened them with their whips.

Leading secluded lives, they hankered after many offices. The sale of offices and rank was not only permitted but arranged for according to a regular scale, to which must be added gifts to the officials. Knowing the insufficiency of salaries, the court winked at such irregularities ; and so it happened that there was such a case as that of the famous Grand Councillor, Ho Shên, in Ch'ien Lung's reign, who with a nominal pay of 180 ounces of silver a year acquired a fortune of several hundred millions and was finally executed for his magnificent sin.

Yet the days of these three sovereigns, K'ang Hsi, Yung Chêng, and Ch'ien Lung, were great and spacious. The population increased enormously, rising from the 50 millions it had been in the time of the Ming to 350 millions before the eighteenth century had ended. Roman Catholic fathers, appointed to the Board of Mathematics to regulate the calendar and correct astronomical calculations, added to the lustre of these reigns. The work of the encyclopædists in Europe was rivalled and eclipsed when K'ang Hsi ordered the making of the famous K'ang Hsi dictionary, which for the first time brought together in compact form the Chinese language. His grandson, Ch'ien Lung, caused a vast catalogue to be prepared which embraced all known literature. No detail was forgotten. Priests of the Catholic Church mapped the Empire from Saghalien to Tonkin, these surveys being the basis of all modern maps. The number of provinces was

increased from fifteen to eighteen so as to improve the protection. Yung Chêng named High Commissioners to Tibet, and Ch'ien Lung sent a golden urn to Lhasa from which henceforth the name of each new Dalai Lama had to be drawn. The conquest of Chinese Turkestan in 1760 was followed by a magnificent review of the returned troops before the palace, which the Roman Catholic artist-priests of the court immortalized in paintings. The silk factories of Hangchow and Soochow, and the famous potteries of the Yangtsze, enjoying the Imperial bounty as never before, produced beautiful wares in such profusion that the world of art still remains full of them.

But while strong rule and intelligent patronage were conferring manifest blessings, and increasing the prosperity of the people, that mysterious law of unhappiness, which like the vast rooting branches of some Gargantuan banyan tree runs unseen under the frontiers of every nation, binding all together in an iron embrace, was about to reveal its mastery and prove once again that self-sufficiency is a sin.

BOOK II
THE NEMESIS FROM THE SEA

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THE NEMESIS FROM THE SEA

§ I

FROM the long narration which has been made of the rise and fall of the dynasties it will be clear that the relation of the Chinese state to other states has never been complicated by novel factors, or subject to modification throughout the centuries; from the earliest records it has been fixed and beyond discussion. The universal empire of the medieval Popes was no more universal in its claims than this peculiar sovereignty. The Emperor, being a patriarch to his own people, was necessarily a patriarch to border states as well; and that embraced the visible world. Pedagogy, philosophy, the stars in their courses, and geography were there to prove it—above all, geography such as Ptolemy would have scorned, since it was the geography of the Stone Age. Beyond the solid land, set four-square under the circle of the skies, in the centre of which was the Middle Kingdom, were the four seas. Beyond the four seas an unknown and uncharted savagery such as Shakespeare pictured:

The Cannibals that each other eat,
The Anthropophagi and men whose heads
Do grow beneath their shoulders.

The empire of the Chinese was therefore essentially an inland state. Their only contact with the sea during a period of at least 2000 years was along a small portion of the swampy Pechili coast uninhabited by aborigines, and around the mouth of the old Yellow River, which then entered the sea two hundred miles north of the Yangtsze. To these little patches of seashore they no doubt brought their river ferries and barges; and the various myths and fables that boat-loads of people blown out to sea founded Japan and other neighbouring states may have some historical basis. Not until the Chou dynasty had been well established, let us say 800 B.C., did they commence to colonize the territory near the Yangtsze estuary. That was their most distant province and the one least accessible; before they commenced the assimilation of the coast aborigines down to the Canton delta a thousand years more were to elapse.

Chinese skill with boats and sails is mainly the skill of river sailors, learnt from the peoples they assimilated. Not for nothing was the proverb coined in ancient times, "A northerner to ride a horse, a southerner to sail a boat". Their unexampled river system, flowing from west to east, was the school in which they developed navigation; their canals, connecting the rivers, which were commenced in prehistoric times and had no sea-

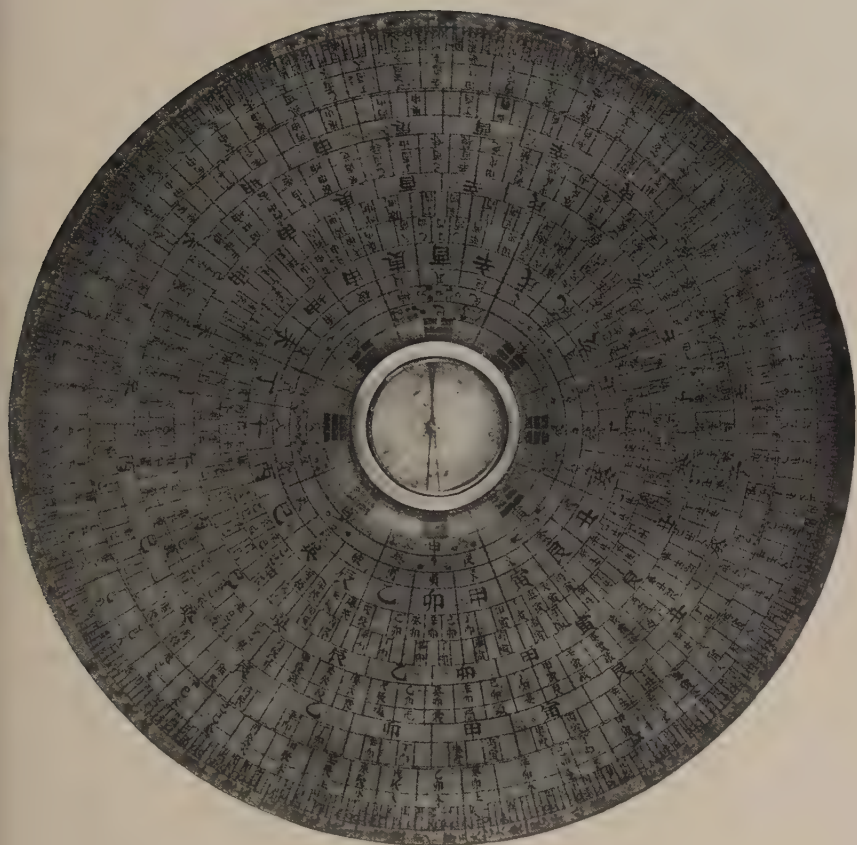
drainage, obviated the necessity of using as a highway the sea, for which their written symbol is "Mother-water". Thus their culture from first to last was essentially the culture of a people to whom the ocean was a novelty, the sea, except for fishermen's boats, being a dreary waste. Dynastic China, having been born far inland, was indifferent to what should have been a mighty heritage—the control of the great waters surrounding her. This fact, projecting itself down the ages, is decisive in its political consequences. Small wonder if a race that had such an assumption not only imbedded in its civilization, but made the official basis of its foreign relations, should scornfully reject the idea of the brotherhood of states.

§ 2

It was characteristically an advance by land which carried the Chinese standards to regions where deep-sea navigation was already practised. The Emperor Ch'in Shih Huang, who burnt the books and built the Great Wall, sent military expeditions far to the south, no doubt in quest of those countries which throughout the period of the Chou dynasty had occasionally sent tribute. At a very remote time in the first millennium before Christ, mysterious allusions occur in Chinese literature concerning "south-pointing chariots" given for the return voyage to ambassadors who had come to the court of the Emperors from the region

of Annam and Siam—chariots which were furnished with needle and loadstone. The secret of these primitive compasses appears to have been lost for many centuries ; and when they reappear it is as instruments in the hands of the geomancers. At a much later period Persian and Arab shipmasters may have seen and recognized the utility of these indicators, of which the Eastern deviation was known to the Chinese a thousand years ago, and put them to practical use ; but the possession of the mariner's compass, to which has been attributed early Chinese navigation, is a myth. The Chinese from first to last were coast traders in narrow and shallow seas across which blow regular trade winds ; they relied entirely on soundings, climatic observations, and bearings taken from landmarks to show them their true course.

Ch'in Shih Huang's legions did no more than cut a path down through South China and the Tonkin coast region to a point which has been identified as Cape Varella, roughly in latitude 15° around Kamranh Bay. The second Annamese empire had just been founded after the overthrow of the first and the suicide of its last king. This empire was divided into fifteen districts or *Bô* and had not only included the coast territory of South China, but had claimed, according to tradition, the territory of Hunan province to the great Tung-ting lake, which connects with the Yangtsze River, and around which elephants are said to have roamed as late as the eighth century A.D. Essentially a



A CHINESE GEOMANTIC COMPASS.

With the magnetic needle and an elaborate face divided into hours and cycles and furnished with astrological data, the round shape symbolizing the circle of the heavens. To-day, as in the past, this compass is used for such purposes as discovering lucky sites for buildings, where the spirits are favourable, and evil influences can be averted by consulting the hour and date of birth of the owner.

The Chinese compass is therefore primarily a land instrument, and while it has been adapted to the sea, it is there used with cartographical devices which more or less follow geomantic principles.

water people, the Annamese would have had little difficulty in penetrating as far north in a region so thick with lakes and streams. Perhaps it is their long paddle-boats, with the dragon head, which survive in that great summer festival, the Dragon Boat Festival, in which dozens of paddlers take their place in slim-waisted non-Chinese craft and race madly to celebrate the tragic death of a virtuous man. Ch'in Shih Huang's action was destructive rather than constructive. He temporarily destroyed the Annamese domain and divided it up into three circuits: the first, comprising Kuei Lin and Kwanghsi, was the ancient Annamese kingdom of Ba-Thuc; the second, which included Kwangtung and part of Fukhien, was the kingdom of Nam-hai; and the third the Tonkin delta and the adjoining coast.

The death of this Emperor, who used violence with greater success than any other Chinese ruler, caused his soldiery to disappear. The Annamese reasserted their sway, and for a hundred years ruled again as far north as Canton, which was the capital of their so-called third empire. But this was definitely destroyed in 111 B.C. by the Han Emperors, who, being in firm occupation of the Yangtze coastal regions, seized the two aboriginal maritime kingdoms of Chung Hai (Chekiang province) and Min Yueh (Fukhien province) and annexed them to the Empire, thus completing the dominion over the present shores of China. Advancing steadily southward, the Han generals

reached once again "the Gates of Annam" and Cape Varella. This territory was now divided into three commanderies: Chiao-chih, the present Hanoi; Chiou Chen, the present Thanh-ho'a; and Jih-nan, "South of the Sun", a vaguely defined district which impinged upon the Mekong River and the vast forests around it.

The arrest of Chinese penetration at this point, and the frequency of rebellions, prove that the invaders found themselves face to face with a population already in an advanced stage of civilization; for the movement from Trans-Gangetic India, which colonized Siam, Cambodia, and Java by sea, had commenced a century or two earlier, the Brahman civilization which has left such linguistic traces in Siam, Cambodia, and Java having furnished seamen and merchants accustomed to maritime enterprise, who dominated the Gulf of Siam to the archipelagos of the south and were able to supply the elements of a local leadership. The coming of small hostile forces marching by land cannot but have aroused bitter opposition; there is definite record that as early as the third century B.C. Ch'in Shih Huang's garrisons had been attacked from the sea and some of the commands lost. The existence of fleets powerful enough to challenge a land power that had marched so far is a sure indication of the advanced civilization which already existed.

China's first knowledge of the power of the sea was therefore derived from these Hindu influences

which had penetrated to regions she herself had almost conquered, such as the ancient kingdom of Champa. For the first time she must have become dimly aware that there was an element which she had hitherto neglected. We obtain a dim picture of these bitter feuds from a brief report recovered from the dynastic annals. In the year A.D. 44 the Han general Ma Yuan announces the pacification of Tonkin in these terms to the Emperor: "Your subject has penetrated to Chiao-chih with twenty thousand men and two thousand boats large and small. Our success is complete."

The knowledge of navigation must have still been very primitive, perhaps only the knowledge of paddle-boats. Otherwise this fleet of two thousand boats would have meant an army far greater than twenty thousand men.

§ 3

This advance beyond the Gulf of Tonkin was to have important consequences for the Emperors; it brought within their purview a sort of Mediterranean Sea, possessing special characteristics, a sea into which many primitive peoples had poured from the dawn of history, making a strange enough medley. From Formosa down to the islands of Sumatra and Java there is indeed a land-locked stretch of water, a *mare clausum* accessible from the west only through the Straits of Malacca and Sunda, and on the south through the Banka and

Gaspar Straits and the Carimata Channel, the eastern barrier being formed by Borneo and the Philippine Archipelago. The mainland of Asia, playing its part in the racial distribution, had sent wave after wave of peoples down to these islands, men who had been displaced from their original homes by the pressure behind them and who in turn had driven away or subjugated those they found in occupation.

Already this other Mediterranean nurtured its own rivalries and possessed its own exchanges ; for Indonesia was the half-way house for communication between Eastern Asia and the West, and offered coveted treasures. The island of Banka had supplied tin to the Phœnician traders a thousand years before Christ, and gold for Solomon's temple had come from the river sands around the Equator. If the Phœnicians entered what is now the South China Sea, curiosity and the search for gold must have led them to many forgotten places. Knowledge of these regions must have been quite definite, since the commerce of the Indian Ocean not only goes far back into antiquity, but is continuous and uninterrupted. Perhaps the search carried the men from the Mediterranean to points never yet identified, for coming as far as Banka for tin is itself a miracle.

What was the most distant point of these explorations ? The mouths of those who could tell have long since been stopped with dust. According to Ptolemy, writing in the second century A.D. from Alexandria, in close touch with those conducting

the maritime commerce of Western Asia, the Far Eastern limit of navigation of the ancient classical world was the lost city of Kattigara, which was not far from the region of the Golden Chersonese. The primitive and incorrect mapping of that day does not give any indication of a locality which has been supposed to be beyond the Malay Archipelago. The Egyptians, like the Phœnicians, had navigated to these seas to bring themselves into direct communication with the countries producing the spices which they so greatly valued, cloves and nutmegs being then procurable from no other source than Indonesia. It was in A.D. 166 that Syrian merchants, who claimed to be envoys of Marcus Aurelius, and who had certainly come from the Mediterranean, landed on the Indo-Chinese coast, seeking the court of the Emperor of China, a proof that the maritime route to the Far East was known and not a matter of exploration, although it was not China that was generally sought, but the rich islands 1500 miles to the south. In Western literature the first mention of spices in the trade-lists is in the age of Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 180), when Java was the centre of Indonesian civilization and the nearest known point to the Moluccas or Spice Islands in the Banda Sea. If Brahman civilization, thanks to early Indian shipping, was the master of the southern shores, then Sanscrit supplies a possible linguistic clue, since Kattigara may have been Kota-gr̥ha, "the fort-house", or "Kūta-gr̥ha, "the mountain-house", likely enough appellations

for a trade entrepôt in the midst of a savage world.

This history has as yet been only imperfectly studied, and is full of curious movements and doubtful points. We do not yet know whether Ptolemy's map, which makes the shores of Eastern Asia a solid moon of land—with the South China Sea unknown and uncharted—is not an indication that Western navigation took no cognizance of the sea route north from Java. Yet the local knowledge of Asiatic waters was already extensive. The despatch of embassies from Java to the court of China during the Han dynasty has been so well attested that there can be no doubt about them. The first recorded mission arrived with tribute for the Emperors in A.D. 132, having followed a course through the Straits of Banka along the coasts of Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula to the Gulf of Siam, and thence to Chiao-chih, the modern Hanoi. The king of this Javan state bore the purely Sanscrit name of Devavarman, "Protected of the gods". If already at this early epoch he had become sufficiently powerful and well-informed to know that beyond the ocean there lived a powerful monarch in his capital of Loyang in Honan province, it is proof that Brahman influences were already old in Indonesia, and that Indian ship-masters at least were familiar with the journey to the Indo-China coast.

From the time of the reoccupation of Tonkin and Annam under the warrior Emperor Wu Ti of

the Han dynasty (140–86 B.C.) the coastal kingdoms to the south, perhaps to Malaya, had sent tribute, which was received in a special office of the palace presided over by eunuch interpreters. In this tribute white pheasants and black pheasants and coloured glass and pearls are mentioned, for which the court issued in exchange gold and silks; and this must have become known from kingdom to kingdom until the news reached every coast and led to the sending of similar presents.

The difficulties of navigation no doubt made the despatch of embassies fitful; there are great gaps in the dynastic histories with no record at all of what was transpiring on this far southern frontier. But by the third century there is a continuous record of commissioners from the coastal kingdoms offering tribute in two coveted products—ivory and rhinoceros horn—who land on the Indo-Chinese coast and proceed overland by the mandarin road to the Chinese court. Rhinoceros horn was specially sought after for court girdles. Immense prices in gold were paid for it until its use was finally forbidden by a sumptuary law. It was also greatly valued for knife handles, a tradition spread through the East declaring that the horn became damp and agitated if poisoned meats were served. Its name *p'i cha-na* (visana) is one of the first Sanscrit words discovered in Chinese, a proof of a very ancient origin.

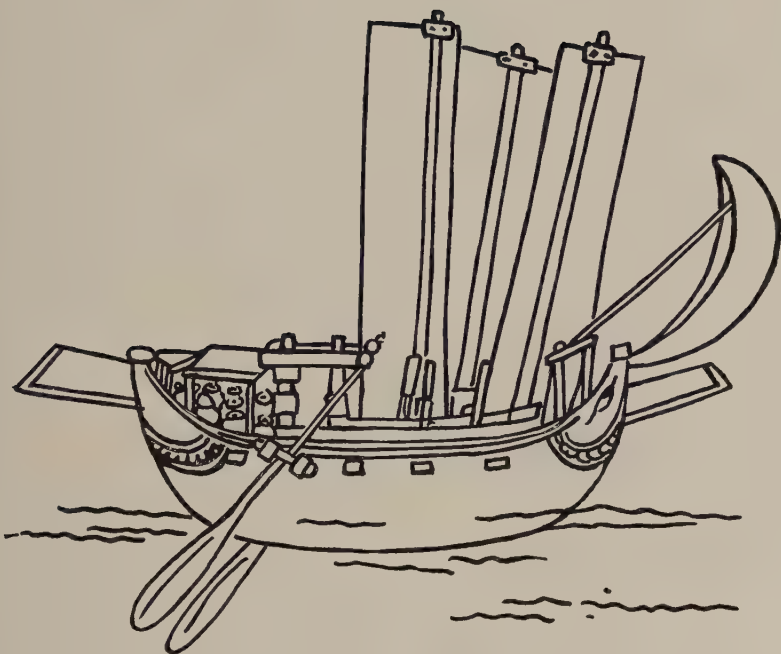
The ships which navigated these waters between kingdom and kingdom must have been Indian

ships, or vessels built on the Indian model. The representations of sailing-ships in the far-famed paintings of the Buddhist cave-temples at Ajantā made between the second century B.C. and the seventh offer almost conclusive proof that the model of the Chinese junk came from India, the eyes on the bows of the craft, the lug-sail strengthened with battens, and the steering oars on outriggered rowlocks, which became the Chinese *yuloh* or sweeps, standing out like a beacon from the past.

§ 4

To the Empire of the Chinese, already so old and so hallowed, these questions were immaterial. The outer world was barbarian, and contact with it was deprecated. So long as adjacent nations declared themselves obedient by the despatch of embassies, thus recognizing the unchallenged superiority of the great central civilization, the rest might take care of itself. Civil strife in the centuries between the Han and the T'ang dynasties necessarily diminished interest in such distant fiefs; and the governors of the coastal regions, abandoned to their devices, merely carried out what they considered right to maintain themselves. Their garrisons left unreinforced, and taking to themselves native wives, must have tended to become no more than a branch of the peoples they had conquered, as we know was the case in Annam.

In the few historical fragments which have so



THE ANCESTOR OF THE CHINESE JUNK.

An Indian vessel of the type suited for long voyages, from the Buddhist paintings in the Ajantā caves (100 B.C. to A.D. 550) which were described by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Huen Tsang, but not visited by him. Ships of this type must have been navigating as far as Malaya, Java, and Siam, in the first centuries of the Christian era, and were copied by the Chinese either in the Sui dynasty or just before, which corresponds to the time of the Gupta Empire in India. The origin of the Chinese *yuloh* or sweep and the eyes on the bows, confined to vessels of South China, is thus purely Indian. The distinctive painting on South China junks, particularly the reds and the blues, must be traced to the same source, and follows rules laid down in Sanscrit literature.

far been recovered we read something of the perplexities of these governors, of their constant struggles with the kingdom of Champa, which was south of their garrisons, and with Fu-nan, the ancient Cambodia, which was recorded as being 3000 li, or a thousand miles, west of Champa, a measurement not of the land route but of the coastal voyage into the Gulf of Siam.

In 431 the Chinese governor of Tonkin sends an army and a fleet against Champa, which musters its entire naval strength but is in the end beaten, the ships fleeing to the islands to the south. Pirates from the Kuen-lun, an expression used by Chinese writers to denote Malaya, and also the islands of Pulo Condore, ravage the Tonkin coast, the maritime populations from Annam to the Moluccas being perpetually engaged in reprisals against one another and varying their trade relations with piracy. Yet through it all the Chinese suzerains receive a steady stream of tribute from adjacent kingdoms which never entirely ceases, and which includes elephants, the rhinoceros, deer, and precious stones, and is not a mere trade exchange, as some have supposed, but a ritual act. The dates which have been definitely established commence for Cambodia in A.D. 225 and for Champa in A.D. 230, and come at irregular intervals, varying from three to thirty years, almost down to modern times. Yet there is little else to record. After the period of Han conquest a thick mist descends on those coasts.

§ 5

When the curtain is drawn again at the time of the T'ang dynasty many changes have come. Some nations famous in the early days, such as the Khmer, have vanished without a trace; others have suddenly grown great. With the trade ships of the West it is the same story. The Roman Empire has fallen, the Greek kingdoms have been scattered; all the old trading centres from Alexandria to Malacca have dropped from their proud positions. Brahmanism, which had been the great civilizer of the East, had been supplanted by Buddhism; and Buddhism was raising gigantic monuments and was the magnet drawing pilgrims across the seas.

Yet the value of the southern seas from the point of view of trade was growing; the loss of the highways of Central Asia had inevitably given an impetus to Eastern maritime commerce similar to that given many centuries later to Western navigation by the loss of the caravan routes of Syria and the Turkish capture of Constantinople. Classical China—the China of the Han dynasty—had maintained relations with Syria and the Roman Orient by means of the caravan route across Central Asia. The celebrated “Stone Tower” in Bokhara, where Chinese traders had met the agents of Rome and unrolled their bales of silk, had been the final trade outpost of the great central civilization. When the Huns and Turkish tribes swept away the chain

of Chinese military posts across the desert, that trade had perished. But it did not perish as early as is generally supposed. After the fall of the Han dynasty and the period of the Three Kingdoms (A.D. 220-265) the founder of the western Chin dynasty reasserted Chinese control over these distant confines of the Empire, the desert route experiencing years of exceptional traffic and activity which lasted as far into the fourth century as A.D. 330 and only definitely ended with the unceasing irruption of Tartars through the Great Wall.

It was to the Persian colonies planted on the coast of Arabia, and later to the Arabs, that the development of sea communication between East and West was thereafter due ; for coast China, the China of the deep bays south of the Yangtsze which was to give birth to large-scale maritime trading, was still inchoate—peopled with aborigines, among whom lived small Chinese colonies incapable of doing more than communicate with one another and possessing no shipping adequate to venture on the deep seas. No doubt from the days of Ptolemy, when the lost city of Kattigara had marked the Uttermost East, to the time when Persian navigators passed through the Sunda Straits and boldly headed north, skirting the magnificent but silent bays of Cochin-China, many a year had passed. During these years there cannot have been a complete break, although research has not yet reconstructed what happened in the third and fourth centuries.

But we know from the Persian writer Hamza Al Isfahani that from the fifth century Hira, a river town on the Euphrates, and the capital of a dynasty of Christian kings, had become the great entrepôt for the trade with the Indies and the farther East, and moored there might be seen vessels from Hindustan and China which Persian and Indian traders owned.

These Persian and Indian navigators dominate the scene until the rise of Islam in the seventh century. Foreign products imported into China at this period are always described in the dynastic histories as Persian, even the Arabs, when they first arrived, being called by the same name. The raw silk for the looms of Syria, now brought by sea, ultimately caused Canton to displace the Tonkin city of Hanoi, which had previously been the entrepôt for Asiatic shipping, since Canton was nearer the Central China marts.

The ruin of the Persian city of Hira coincides with the founding of the Arab port of Basra, which was built immediately after the conquest of Mesopotamia by the Mussulmans under the caliphate of Omar in 638. Thereafter ocean trade passed into Muslim hands and was slowly and methodically extended by the use of scientific knowledge, and by a study of the monsoons or prevailing trade winds.

The texts by Arab authors dealing with Arab navigation which are generally available begin with the ninth century and are continuous until the

sixteenth century. Yakubi, an Arab writer of the ninth century, gives information which is repeated by all the chroniclers, showing that the trade was then stereotyped and a matter of common knowledge. "If it is desired to reach China by sea," he writes, "it is necessary to cross seven seas. Each one has its particular colour, its fish, and its winds, which are not found in the next sea. The first is the Sea of Fars (the Persian Gulf), on which one embarks at Shiraz and which ends at the Cape Ras Al-hadd, south-east of Oman: this sea is narrow and contains pearl fisheries. The second sea is called the Sea of Larwi: it is a great sea, containing the islands of the Wakwak and other peoples of the Zandis. In these islands there are kings. This sea can only be navigated by help of the stars. It contains great fish and many marvellous things. The third sea is called the Sea of Harkand (the Bay of Bengal), where is the island of Sirandib (Ceylon) with many precious stones. In this sea there are also islands, and on the islands kings: one of these is the head of all the others. The fourth sea is called Kalah bar (along the Malay Peninsula). It is very shallow and contains many snakes. Often the wind blows in such hurricanes that ships are broken in two. It has islands on which grows the camphor tree. The fifth sea is called Salahat. It is a great sea with many marvellous things. The sixth sea is called Kundrang (the Gulf of Siam); here it constantly rains. The seventh sea is called Cankhay. This

is the China Sea, which one can only traverse with the southerly winds until one comes to the estuary of a great river."

These sailing directions are explicit and leave no doubt. The sea road was now perfectly understood from the Persian Gulf to China, the Cankhay of the Arab writers being the transliteration of *Ch'ang hai* or "Long sea", the name given to the ocean from Tonkin to the Fukhien coast—the Arabs christening the rocky Formosan channel "The Gates of China", the densely populated and authentic China being still counted as commencing near the Yangtze region.

These seven seas were peopled by these early writers as no other seas were ever peopled before ; and the navigators who safely made the voyage filled the bazaars from Bagdad to the Nile with their fabled accounts. Common to many of the records is the story of the white Castle of Slumber built of rock crystal, the sight of which was sufficient to make the crews congratulate themselves on their lucky voyage, but where no man dared to set foot. For the castle was said to be full of corpses, and a king of Persia who had entered it with all his suite had fallen into a lethargy from which he never awoke. The legend of the race of island slaves who had wings is equally persistent and equally curious. One Arab shipmaster who took a number of them in exchange for some goods congratulated himself as they laughed and sang and danced on his decks. But when his ship slowly sailed away with

them on board they became still and sombre. Then suddenly, like a flight of sparrows, they all rushed to the side and leaped into the ocean, swimming safely back to their fortunate isle, as pursuit was impossible in the teeth of a contrary wind. In the China Sea there was an island of women on which could not be found a single man. The women conceived with the help of the wind or by eating a fruit. A merchant who was wrecked there found gold as abundant as the earth, there being even reeds of gold. The women wished to kill him, but he was finally spared and put on a plank on which he drifted to China. On his communicating his precious knowledge to the Emperor, the latter sent people to explore for the island, but they remained away three years and never found it. Arab colonies in Canton and other coast towns were soon numerous, as their shipping prospered, Arab traders reaching even Korea by sea ; whilst their warriors marched to the assistance of the Emperors by land. The earliest mention of Arabs who come by land is A.D. 714 ; in 758 there is an obscure reference in the histories to their sack of Canton and massacre of five thousand foreign traders, a witness to the jealousies of the time. Later, towards the year 900, they transferred their chief emporium from Canton to the Malacca peninsula because turmoil and the departure of all Chinese soldiery for the north at the time of the impending fall of the T'ang dynasty had removed all protection.

§ 6.

The T'ang dynasty (A.D. 617-910) must have closed before Chinese junks navigated regularly to the Equator and took the place of the Arab shipping, which was increasingly limited to the Malacca entrepôt. We have interesting and conclusive proof of the paucity of Chinese travellers and the absence of Chinese overseas vessels in earlier times from the accounts of Buddhist priests, who in their great travels to India embody the one romance which has stirred their race. Fa-hsien, the first of them, who passed through Java from India in A.D. 412 on his homeward journey, was on an Indian or Persian ship; attempting to sail direct to the port of Canton instead of coasting up the shores of Annam and Tonkin to Hanoi, he was carried by storms to Shantung and wrecked, proof enough that in the fifth century vessels were still very frail, and that Canton had not yet established itself as the sea terminus in place of Indo-China.

But by the seventh century this had changed. The Buddhist pilgrim Yi Ching, who proceeded to India on his first voyage in A.D. 671, took ship at Canton, and there is in what he wrote a complete and precise record of everything of interest. The pilgrim, being determined to make his voyage at all costs, narrates how he sought the acquaintance of an "Imperial envoy", and how together they arranged with the master of a Persian ship for passages to the next port, small coasting vessels

being still the only means of travel. "When the eleventh moon had come," he writes, "the wind commenced to blow in the great expanse and we turned towards the south. Within twenty days we arrived in a kingdom where I stayed six months studying the science of sounds. The King gave me the necessary assistance and I continued on my way." The pilgrim, helped by religious organizations, goes from port to port, on one part of his journey travelling on a "King's ship". He describes the chief points of interest in terms suited to the age, proving how strange and dangerous the voyage was still held to be. "The country of naked men" (the Nicobar Islands) and the absence of iron in the islands of the Malay Archipelago deeply impressed him, as also the lack of rice and cereals. In the eighth century another priest, Chien-ch'en, setting out to visit Japan, proceeds to Foochow to find a boat, but is forced to have one constructed which is able to carry all told only fifty-three persons. The narrative of his adventures is equally precise. The ship, blown down to the southern extremity of China, grounds on the island of Hainan, where the chief is a pirate who captures two or three Persian ships every year, taking all their cargo, but killing no one, and even giving his captives a domain so big that the Persian villages take "three days to pass through from north to south and five days from east to west", an extraordinary statement which has never been investigated.

But it is the pilgrim's description of Canton which is the most illuminating. He finds there three Brahman temples where many Brahmans resided. In the river are innumerable vessels belonging to the Brahmans, Persians, and Malays, with every kind of merchandise from India, Arabistan, and Central Asia—good testimony that foreign trade and coast shipping in 749 was still in the hands of other Asiatics. The departure of this pilgrim from Ningpo in 753 with a fleet of four Japanese vessels is the first mention of sea communication between Central China and Japan. Towards the end of the eighth century, the sea route to India had become so well known at the court of the T'ang dynasty that very complete accounts of official geographers have been preserved. It was in the main a coasting voyage with the vessels hugging the land, no Chinese ships engaging in it so far as is known. With a good wind, fourteen days were taken from Canton to the headland outside Saigon, Cape St. Jacques, and ten days more to Palembang in Sumatra, with the advantage of the north-east monsoon directly behind. From there to the Straits of Sunda was a week's coasting with land always in sight ; and from the Sumatran coast to the isle of the Lion (Ceylon) was another three weeks, if the turn of the seasons was carefully timed and every advantage taken of the prevailing winds. This shows the improvement which the Arabs, with their knowledge of the monsoons and of the stars, had brought about. Ceylon was the

NOTE

Thick arrows show the land-advance made with comparatively weak forces at the time of Ch'in Shih Huang and the early Han Emperors, the ground gained being largely lost during the next eight centuries, although the assimilation of the Man Barbarians went on.

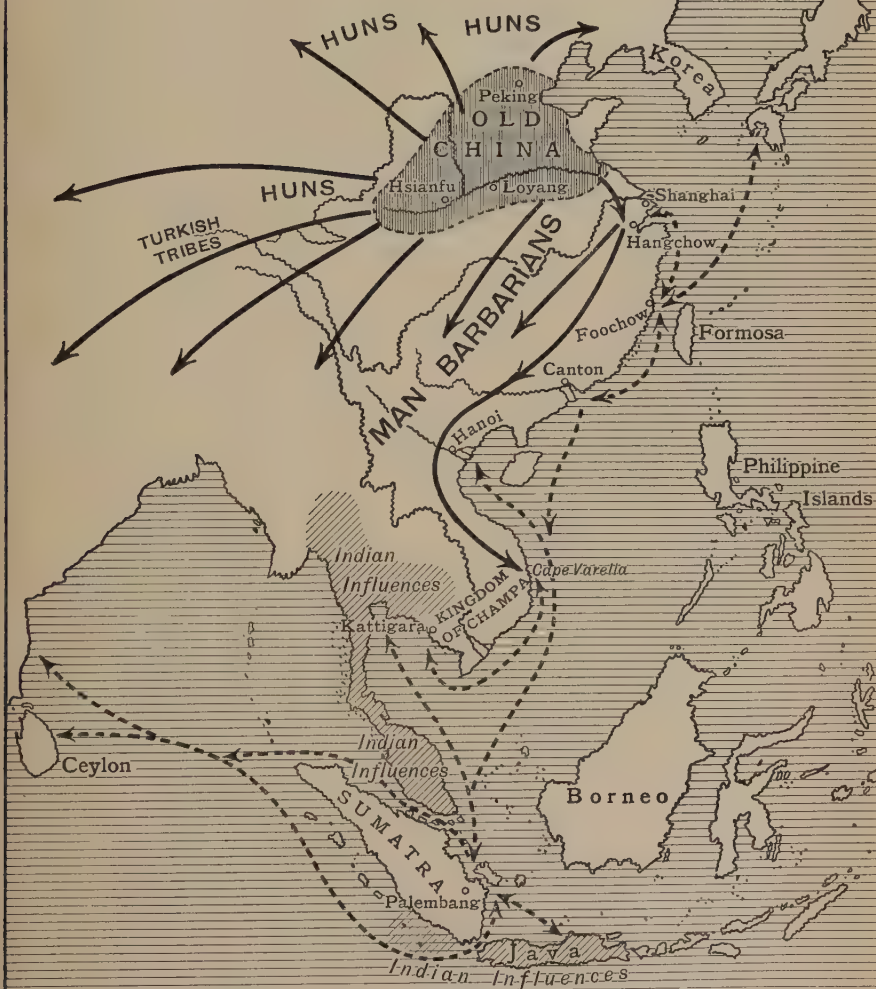
Cape Varella marks the point farthest south to which the Chinese ever penetrated, which was reached during the time of the Han dynasty. Navigation was then confined to a knowledge of paddle boats. The earliest date which can be assigned to attempts to sail beyond Cape Varella to the coasts to the South, which were in the hands of the Kingdom of Champa, is the sixth century, by which time Indian ships may have been copied. But the Chinese probably did not penetrate to the Gulf of Siam until the Sui dynasty (A.D. 581-618), and Malaya and Palembang were certainly not touched before the middle of the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618-907), regular coastal navigation, as well as navigation into the Bay of Bengal, commencing in the Sung dynasty. Kattigara, the lost city of Ptolemy, marking the limit of Western navigation in the second century was almost certainly in the Gulf of Siam, where Brahman influences predominated, and was therefore unknown to the Chinese.

Sketch Map of EARLY CHINESE NAVIGATION

Scale of Miles
0 200 400 600 800 1000

—————> Land advance

-----> Routes developed from VIth. to XIth. Centuries



Ultima Thule of Chinese travellers because of its Buddhism, and the way thither was interesting to them only because it led to a hallowed spot. It was not until 1017 that they became completely acquainted with Sumatra, when the Mussulman king of the island sent, by the hand of an ambassador, a letter written in characters of gold together with a tribute of pearls and ivories and black slaves. Previously, the only part known to them had been Palembang, called *Fo-chi* or *Chi-li Fo-chi* in their accounts, because this was on the shore of the Straits of Banka, through which they passed on their way to Java, or down to the Straits of Sunda, the Malacca Straits being avoided because of pirates until the Arabs finally cleared the sea of them. Chinese interest in the outer world indeed remained so limited, in spite of the unparalleled opportunity which this early navigation afforded them, that even the names of Aden and the ports of the Persian Gulf were unknown to them before the end of the twelfth century. In 971, according to the Sung dynasty annals, an office for the merchant marine (*Shih Chu'an Ssü*) was opened at Canton, and later others were placed at Zaytoun (Foochow), Ningpo, and Hangchow, where the Arabs and dealers from Malaya, Java, Champa (Cochin - China), Borneo, the Philippines, and Palembang (Sumatra) exchanged for Chinese gold, silver, silks, and porcelains their spices, rhinoceros horn, pearls, coral, tortoiseshell, and ebony and other hard woods.

It was not, however, until the end of the eleventh century that an official was appointed to the Yangtsze ports to levy duties on foreign trade ; later, under the Mongols in 1293, there was a further administrative expansion when seven commissioners for foreign trade were named for the seven southern ports—Foochow (the Arab “ Zaytoun ”), Shanghai, K’an Pu, Wenchow, Canton, Hangchow, and Amoy.

§ 7

From these indications it is reasonable to assume that Chinese overseas navigation grew up haphazard in the process of mercantile exchange with the Arab depots of Indonesia when Muslim shipping commenced its first decline in the tenth century, and that beyond Malacca Chinese trading junks never ventured excepting during the period of Mongol domination. The first Chinese ship seen in Java was a craft which had been blown down and wrecked on its shore in 921 : there appears to be no doubt regarding an incident which is well-attested in Javan records. The shipwrecked men, being treated kindly, established themselves on the island and commenced a direct commerce. Chinese junks, arranged like depot-ships, in which every merchant had a certain prescribed space and travelled with his goods, steadily grew in size during the Sung dynasty ; but Marco Polo’s vague statement written in the succeeding Mongol dynasty, that in days anterior to his voyage to the Persian

Gulf Chinese vessels had been much greater, is not believed, since the present sea-junks of maximum burthen appear to be almost exactly similar to the vessels of seven centuries ago. While on rare occasions it may have happened that Chinese shipping ventured to the Persian Gulf, and even to the African coast, navigated by Arab pilots, in the main their trade was strictly limited to Siam, Java, Palembang, the Moluccas, and Malacca, and possessed the same narrow characteristics as their exchange with Korea and Japan. This trade lasted without much change for five centuries, until the decline of the Ming dynasty and the coming of Western navigators destroyed whatever importance it had first acquired under the Sung.

It was the presence of the Sung dynasty at Hangchow, whither they had been driven from their capital in Honan by the pressure of the Kin dynasty, which had a most powerful influence on maritime development by attracting the attention of the Emperors. The Chinese court undoubtedly tried to develop a war fleet which would stay the Tartar advance at the Yangtsze, and although they were politically unsuccessful, navigation benefited by this Imperial concern. Hangchow, the *Kinsay* of Marco Polo and the Arabs, which was for so long their capital, was then not only a seaport, but the principal foreign harbour of Central China, placed at a stone's throw from the great Yangtsze estuary and entertaining constant relations with the neighbouring anchorages of Fukhien and Kwangtung.

Its shipbuilding by the twelfth century had attained a development unknown in Europe, the standard big ship being the vessel of 6000 piculs (400 tons), and some being 9000 piculs (600 tons). When the final disaster overcame the Sung sovereigns and they fled with the fleet to Canton, we have the definite statement in the dynastic histories that they had with them 800 great ships carrying 500,000 souls—by no means an impossible figure if all the shipping of the Yangtze and the South was united under their standard.

Undoubtedly the riches of the southern seas had been a powerful incentive to maritime development as well, the trade in pepper and spices being important, since for these commodities Chinese merchants exchanged their pottery and their silk. But the inter-port trade of China itself, particularly the growing trade in lumber, had demanded larger vessels from generation to generation. As a class of shipmasters grew up who became familiar with the lore of the sea and who saw that the big ship was the most seaworthy, the tendency inevitably became to develop storm-proof vessels. Still nothing was attempted beyond voyages which had been customary for the Persians and Indians and Arabs for so many centuries. The Philippines, although only 600 miles from Canton, were unknown to the men of the day; so was Formosa, the western shores of which had formed part of the Arabs' "Gates of China" from the time they had first arrived. Although the sea-borne traffic increased along their coasts and their

coast towns thrived and prospered, the relative number of ships engaged in foreign trade tended to diminish, the few desires for exotic products being easily supplied by the periodic sailing of small squadrons, which acquired a local monopoly in each port. Under the Mongol dynasty the Malabar coast was added to the periodic sailings on account of its pepper; but farther west remained *terra incognita*.

§ 8

The first use of Chinese fleets as an instrument of power against a foreign state was when the Mongols attempted the invasion of Japan—and the consequences were not happy. Kublai Khan, incensed because the Japanese alone of all neighbouring nations paid no attention to his succession to the throne of China, and tiring of sending embassies, determined to use force. In the first attempted invasion in 1274, the King of Korea's fleets were the transports, Kublai Khan merely sending 25,000 of his soldiery. In an attack which was beaten off after a furious eight-hour battle in Kyushiu the entire Korean fleet was lost. With the final overthrow of the Sung dynasty and the capture of their fleet at Canton, Kublai Khan became master of the maritime resources of South China and decided to deal the Japanese a staggering blow. Korea was ordered to prepare another fleet of 1000 ships, while he himself swept every harbour clean and assembled no less than 3500 vessels, large and small, trans-

porting in them a Mongol army of 46,000 men, many of whom were cavalry, and a vast force of Chinese auxiliaries drawn from the Sung soldiery who had surrendered.

The vanguards of the Korean and Chinese expeditions, having effected a junction off the island of Iki, where more than 600 years later the Russian Baltic Fleet was destroyed, advanced together. After desperate and determined assaults, a landing was effected on a spit of land on the Kyushiu coast, to which the invaders clung for fifty-two days, while the South China armada kept on arriving in successive squadrons. The Japanese, who had worked with forced labour for seven years from the time of the first attack to raise a stone rampart dominating for many miles the bays of the northern coast of Kyushiu, although hard-pressed, held their ground doggedly, and to the great surprise of the Mongols soon began to assume the offensive on the water. Pictorial scrolls of the period show their small ships dashing recklessly to and fro, there being in no case more than ten fighting men on each. Such was the ardour of their assaults, however, in cutting out and firing isolated Mongol ships that in the end they compelled the invading fleets to draw up alongside one another and chain themselves together so as to receive prompt reinforcements against the Japanese boarding parties.

It was in these circumstances that on the fifty-third day a hurricane burst as terrible as that which

scattered the Spanish Armada on the coasts of England. It blew inshore with terrific force. Seeing their peril, all the vessels made for the entrance of the harbour, many of them still chained ; as they converged a terrible disaster occurred. The ships, jammed against one another by the force of the wind, were wrecked in hundreds and broken like match-wood, the Korean accounts declaring that the timbers and the bodies of men were so heaped together that when the storm abated a person could walk across from one point of land to the other on the mass of wreckage. By this disaster 100,000 warriors and 200,000 sailors are said to have been lost, the number of prisoners who were captured being only 10,000.

Great and complete as was this second failure, Kublai Khan would have made a third attempt had not other affairs engaged his attention. But he was to use the naval arm once again elsewhere before his death.

This time it was against Java. The fame of Java had begun to spread as the riches of the country became more widely known, and Kublai Khan appears to have desired to place it among his possessions. Being now firmly seated on his throne, he had adopted the Chinese tradition of universal dominion, and was busy sending envoys to all countries on the list of vassal states informing them that a new family had ascended the Throne of the World and asking them to renew allegiance and send tribute.

In 1290 a Chinese envoy and his suite arrived in the Sourabaya district in the eastern part of Java. The Khan's ambassador was very badly received ; his face was cut and branded, and a message full of contempt was sent back with him to the Chinese court.

Kublai Khan decided to send an expedition to avenge the insult.

Orders were issued to the maritime province of Fukhien to despatch an army of 20,000 men to subdue Java. They were to proceed in " a thousand ships ", fully equipped with provisions for one year, and to carry 40,000 shoes of silver.

The fleet sailed at the end of 1292 from Chuan Chou, a town near the modern Amoy. Discarding the accustomed route down the coasts of Malacca and Sumatra, the shortest course was taken. Passing through the Carimata Channel, the expedition stopped at the island of Billiton, where they cut timber to build smaller craft to enter the Javan rivers. Thereafter the expedition landed and after heavy fighting defeated several princes and destroyed their armies. But these victories were Pyrrhic. Surrounded by treachery and amid dense forests, the Mongol generals soon realized the difficulties of warfare in such unknown surroundings. So in the end, gathering together their important prisoners and whatever treasure they could collect, they embarked the 10,000 men who remained of the original force, the others having been lost in battle or by disease in a campaign of four months.

It is recorded that the voyage home took sixty-eight days.

For losing so many men and winning such meagre results Kublai Khan ordered the senior general to be lashed and have part of his property confiscated.

Chinese fleets as an engine of power had again failed.

Not for a hundred years was a renewed attempt made to use the sea in the service of the state. Then the third Ming Emperor, Yung Lo, who had usurped the throne from his nephew, alarmed by the possibility of the reappearance of the fugitive Emperor, commenced his memorable despatch of embassies overseas on a scale never before and never since attempted, so as to have his title recognized and to discover if the legitimate sovereign was in communication with subject countries. They began in 1405, when the presence of the court at Nanking brought it into contact with the maritime resources of the country, and a fleet of sixty-two vessels of maximum size set sail for the southern seas. Crammed full of 37,000 soldiers and sailors, and furnished with rich presents of gold and silks, this fleet visited successively Annam, Cambodia, Siam, Java, Sumatra, and the many kingdoms of the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago. Handsome offerings were made to princes who recognized Chinese suzerainty; those who refused were conquered and brought back captive.

The first embassy was followed by six others,

one of which went as far as Ceylon, where the king was made prisoner for resisting Chinese overlordship and deposed, a new sovereign being appointed, who was accompanied back to his domain by a Chinese Imperial commissioner. Seventeen principalities in all acknowledged China's sway, even the kings of Bengal sending ambassadors with rich tribute, who returned with seals of office conferred on them by the Chinese court.

The limit of this maritime activity appears to have been Ormuz in the Gulf of Persia, and it died down as suddenly as it commenced.

§ 9

The stage had indeed been set for the last act, an act which was to be decisive because it was so different from what had preceded it. The navigation of the Arabs to India and the Far East had been known in the market-places of Europe as early as the thirteenth century—vaguely, but none the less indisputably. At Suez, Cairo, and Alexandria the exchange of produce brought by Mussulman merchants from India, the Malay Archipelago, and China, with Venetians and Genoese, who distributed it to Europe and Asia Minor, was one of the remarkable features of the Middle Ages, since the Sultans of Egypt were fanatical Muslims who only permitted this commerce because they levied on it crushing duties of two and three hundred per cent. The capture of Bagdad in 1258

by the Mongol Hulagu, a grandson of Genghiz Khan, destroyed the Abasside Khalifate, and inaugurated a competing route by more liberal measures, thus diverting this trade to the Persian Gulf, whence it passed to Taurus in Asia Minor, which now became the principal entrepôt. Hulagu, like other Mongol leaders, was anxious to ally himself with Christian nations and so to continue his war; their own feuds and their indifference to his advances defeated his plans. The conversion of these Mongol Khans of Persia to Mahomedanism in 1316 introduced a new and sinister element, by closing this antechamber to the East. The militarization of the whole region under the banner of the Prophet inevitably followed, and with it the war on the Christian which had been waged so long from the North African coast, and by the Moors in Spain, was extended to the whole of Asia.

Islam now established herself as the mistress of the Indian Ocean, and her fortresses soon bristled along its littoral. From Aden and Yemen to Calicut on the Malabar coast, and Malacca on the southern extremity of the Malay Peninsula, her fleets guarded the highway to the Far Eastern seas. She held in her hand the monopoly of trade. Her vanished Empire is enshrined for all time in the Arab word "monsoon", the magic seasonal winds which, blowing alternately from east and west, wafted her fairy fleets across the seas and made China her preserve. Then it was that the south-west monsoon, which blows for the countries

"under the wind" from March 16 to April 24, became known as the Zaytoun monsoon, in honour of the China port which was the terminus of the regular navigation, the fleets returning with the north-east monsoon, which lasts from December 25 to February 13. Ibn Batūta, writing in the fourteenth century, says that so stereotyped had the trade become that great ocean junks were now solely constructed at the two terminal ports, Foochow and Canton, where there was good ship timber, the number of sweeps (*yuloh*) with which ships were furnished having grown to twenty, each manned by thirty men, so that no time should be lost during the busy season. The rise of the Osmanli Turks in the fifteenth century, and the spread of Islam to the shores of the eastern Mediterranean even before the capture of Constantinople, gave the struggle between Christian and Muslim an entirely new character. It deepened the resolve of the Spanish and Portuguese and other ardent supporters of the Cross to sweep away the religion of the sword from the Iberian peninsula and the adjoining coasts.

In 1415 a Portuguese fleet, consisting of 33 galleys, 27 triremes, 32 biremes, and 120 smaller vessels, after a desperate contest captured Ceuta on the Moroccan coast, and the great adventure round which world policy was to develop had commenced. Prince Henry of Portugal, surnamed the Navigator, during a sojourn in his new possession, learnt from Moors who came from the interior of Africa valuable

information regarding the land routes as far down the west coast as Gambia ; he determined to try and reach these regions by sea, the quest for " Arab gold " possessing him. In 1428 he obtained from the Seignory at Venice a copy of the celebrated Catalan Atlas of Charles V. of France, made in 1375, which was the quintessence of the geography of the Middle Ages and contained in detail the results of the voyages of Marco Polo, with the sea route from the Far East to the Persian Gulf clearly shown. It was then made clear to him that if he could achieve the circumnavigation of the African continent he would have pierced the insuperable barrier—Mahommedan hostility—and reached the regions of the rising sun.

In successive stages, won through long years of effort, the west coast of Africa was discovered. At the time of his death in 1460 the Equator had almost been reached ; in 1486 Bartholemy Diaz attained the Great Fish River ; and twelve years later Vasco da Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope. Proceeding up the east coast, he reached successively Mozambique, Mombasa, and Malinda—at which place he obtained an Indian pilot by force from the Sultan, and the secret of the Indies was in his hands.

It was indeed as if he had come out of a dark chamber into a lighted corridor. For seven hundred years the navigation of the Arabian Sea, the Indian Ocean, the Bay of Bengal, and the South China waters had been as commonplace to the Arabs as

the navigation of the Mediterranean had been to Europeans. With their knowledge of the astrolabe and the navigator's stars, together with their almanac of the monsoons and their division of the seas into "climates", they had removed all the hazards except sheer ill-luck. Vasco da Gama, sailing away from Malinda on April 24, 1498, on a direct course plotted for him by his captive pilot, cast anchor in Calicut in twenty-six days, and the wonder and weakness of the Eastern world were revealed to him. On his return to Portugal after half a year's sojourn, his story was the signal for fresh activities.

The rapid exploration of unknown coasts, and the military victories over Islam which followed, together with the destruction of the chain of Arab trading-posts and fortresses, form a story without parallel. Albuquerque and others captured successively Ormuz, Goa, and Malacca. Dethroned Sultans wept as they realized that the future held nothing for them. The fleets of the Sultan of Egypt and the Rajahs of Calicut and Cambaye, hastily mobilized to destroy the invaders, were decisively beaten and scattered in 1509. The Portuguese had understood that to win commerce the mastery of the sea was essential to them—that Islam was the real enemy and must be everywhere dispossessed. Just as the Arabs had taken this inheritance from the Persians and Brahmans, so now was it taken from them, the assault being sanctified by Papal Bulls which, in high-sounding language, conferred

the right of eminent domain in the East on the *conquistadores*.

§ 10

It was at Malacca, in 1509, that the Portuguese met the first Chinese, a decisive proof that Chinese navigation to the Malabar coast had ceased. Then captains of junks in port came to congratulate them on their victories and to ask permission for their vessels to sail to Siam. The position of these shipmasters is made clear from the contemporary accounts. While the merchants from India and Java had worked upon the suspicions of the Sultan of Malacca, and bidden him beware of these strangers, the Chinese junkmasters had reported to the Portuguese that a trap was being prepared for them and had showed them how to avoid it. They were clearly in a minority and not favoured. As soon as the inevitable battle, which ended in a Portuguese victory, had been fought, the Chinese asked permission to place their warehouses in the vicinity of the Portuguese citadel, promising to accept Portuguese money and to use it as their standard. That their value was understood on the Portuguese side is shown by the royal instructions carried by the *conquistadores* :

You will make inquiries among the Chinese and find out from what country they come and what is the distance ; at what seasons they resort to Malacca and what merchandise they bring ; and what sailing-rules they have.

You will also discover how many ships come every year and whether they return home the same year ; what factories or warehouses they possess at Malacca and in adjacent countries ; whether they are rich merchants and warlike : whether they have arms or artillery ; whether the Moors dwell in their country and what is their Faith. . . .

Albuquerque took the opportunity of the departure of the Chinese ships for Siam to send on them envoys with rich presents, so that relations with Siam might be opened up.

In 1515 the first Portuguese reached the China coast, although their real relations only commenced a year or two later. With well-armed vessels and Chinese pilots, Fernao Peres de Andrade entered the Canton river in 1517. The appearance of these strangers struck the population with astonishment, but they were fairly received, their merchandise being placed in warehouses and they themselves lodged in the Post-house pending the decision of the government. A Chinese account written by the mandarin controlling maritime affairs at Canton throws an interesting light on this historic event. He relates naïvely :

Suddenly there arrived two great sea vessels which went and anchored near the Post-house, saying that they had brought tribute from the nation of *Fo-lang-ki* (Franks), this being the name of a country and not of a cannon as previously reported. The masters of the ships are called *Ka-pi-tan* (captain). All the persons aboard had prominent noses and deep-set eyes, wearing turbans of

white cloth round their heads after the custom of the Mohammedans. The news was immediately conveyed to His Excellency the Viceroy, who gave orders that as these people knew nothing about etiquette they should be instructed for three days regarding ceremonies at the Mohammedan mosque: after which they were to be introduced into his presence. As it was found that the institutes of the Ming dynasty contained no mention of tribute being received from the nation in question, a complete report of the affair was despatched to the Emperor, who sanctioned the despatch of individuals and presents to the Ministry of Rites. In consequence of disrespectful behaviour in the capital, the interpreter was condemned to death, and the rest of the party sent back as prisoners to Canton to be expelled from the country. During their long stay in Canton they showed a particular liking for the study of Buddhist writings. Their cannon are made of iron, and are five or six feet long.

Such was the spirit in which these intrepid explorers were received, demonstrating what gulfs separated East and West. In 1522 a second Portuguese squadron, coming from Malacca for the purpose of building a port on an island, was attacked by a large Chinese fleet, many of the men being massacred, and only a small number escaping. So execrated were they already—fear being the mother of hatred—that the expression “foreign devils” was now coined. Pursuing their policy of invading Chinese anchorages, the Portuguese established themselves during the next twenty-five years at both Foochow and Ningpo, where there were again massacres. It was only in 1553 that they were

finally allowed to reside on the rocky peninsula of Macao, at the entrance of the Canton river, for having assisted the port authorities in destroying large nests of Chinese pirates. That was the year after the arrival of the great Francis de Xavier, who died on an island in sight of the promised land, leaving it to Matteo Ricci, who landed in 1583, to become the founder of the modern Roman Catholic missions. In 1554, by virtue of an arrangement whereby the Portuguese undertook to pay customs dues, which they had previously disputed, peaceful trade commenced.

This is how these important events in the history of Eastern Asia—the capture of Malacca and the Portuguese arrival in China—are recorded in the Ming dynastic history :

After the Franks had come with soldiers and conquered the country, the King of Malacca fled and sent envoys to inform the Imperial Government of this disaster. The Emperor published an edict blaming the Franks, and telling them to return to their own country. He also ordered Siam and neighbouring countries to go to the rescue, but because they disobeyed these orders the Kingdom of Malacca was destroyed.

Shortly after these events the Franks sent envoys to the court, but when they arrived at Canton the governor imprisoned them, because their nation had hitherto not been numbered among the tributary countries, and asked for instructions from the Government. The Emperor ordered the governor to pay them the price of their goods and to send them off.

§ II

It is clear from this that the first appearance of Western sailors in Chinese waters attracted scant notice ; only when the governors of coast provinces sent in reports of the violence of the Portuguese, which resembled the acts of Japanese raiders to which the central maritime districts had been accustomed for two hundred years, had there been angry orders from the Ming court to take the necessary steps. This caused, however, not more than a ripple on the broad bosom of Chinese life ; and when these strange men of the sea gravitated to the Canton estuary, as others had done before them, to be tolerated at what had long been a foreign gateway, they were forgotten. For the Throne, the question of foreign policy had not arisen. That was still a purely formal question. The knowledge possessed of the West remained traditional, inaccurate, depreciatory ; it was composed of certain things handed down from the earlier centuries, or learnt from gossip travellers such as Marco Polo, or translated from Arab writings. But the new West, that dramatic creation springing from the exploration and conquest of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, which was so largely the story of the quest for gold, was a sealed volume.

It is true, of course, that foreign policy in Western countries was as yet little different in its essentials from Chinese policy : action still centred round land and dynastic jealousies. If

the outer world was barbarian to China, China was no less barbarian to the outer world, and quite as misunderstood. Although the Empire of the open seas, which was to modify international affairs out of all recognition by enthroning a new rivalry and a new law of conquest, was in process of being won, navigation was still a romantic enterprise, and the trade depots it had established were of no greater interest than the priests of the Church militant who were continuing abroad the war of religions so fiercely raging at home. But the nations were beginning to stir mightily ; every year saw a new development. The Spaniards, using Mexico and the New World as their base, just as the Portuguese had used Malacca and India, and inspired by the immortal voyage of Magellan round the Horn, entered the China Sea and founded Manila in 1571. Bringing in their train, like the Portuguese, friars and priests, theirs was also a two-fold menace—the Church allied to the cannon. Taught by what had occurred in the case of the Portuguese at Canton, the governor of the neighbouring province of Fukhien was anxious to enter into peaceful relations with them, and did not repel their advances, although little came of his official concern. But Chinese traders, who had allowed the centuries to slip by without attempting commerce in the vast Philippine archipelago, soon began to pour in, and new influences were set in motion. The Dutch, disdaining the barriers which both the Spaniards and the Portuguese tried to raise against

them, reached the East Indies in 1599, and a few years later raised their flag over a fort on Formosa, where two hundred villages accepted their rule. The Spaniards, attempting to drive them out and failing, inaugurated that bitter European religious rivalry in Eastern waters which was so powerfully to affect both China and Japan. The English, who throughout the sixteenth century had vainly sought the fabled North-west Passage so that they might reach China and the Indies by an independent route, now finally abandoning their efforts, entered the China Sea both by the Cape route and the Straits of Magellan ; for the defeat of the Invincible Armada in 1588, and the presence of Elizabeth on the throne, by releasing the latent energy of the nation, had thrown them into the struggle with an ardour which was soon to sweep every sea. By the capture in 1592 of the Portuguese galleon *Madre de Dios*, a ship of 1600 tons, stuffed full of valuables and carrying between 600 and 700 persons, the secret of the commerce of the Far East was won ; for in this ship they found maps and charts and commercial lists which contained the fruit of a century of exploration.

Four years later the first English attempt to reach China was made and failed. It was not until 1620 that the first Englishman set foot in China—more than 100 years after the Portuguese, and then only as the result of a shipwreck, the first English ship actually to enter Canton river being that of Captain Weddell in 1637, who was constrained to

fire his guns in wrath at the obstructions set in his path, and in spite of the capture of a river fort was forced to sail away empty-handed. There seems to have been a desire on the part of the early English adventurers to annex the island of Hainan—where so many centuries before Persian sailors were supposed to have been detained by pirates. But nothing ever came of it, and desultory trading was all the disturbed times permitted.

It was an important hour. The Ming dynasty, already crumbling in Peking, had almost abandoned its hold on the southern provinces. The Portuguese, resenting the presence of the English, vainly threw every obstacle in their way at Canton. The fall of the Ming capital in 1644, and the extension of the war to the southern domain by the Manchu invaders, allowed a short period of "free trade", during which the famous pirate Koxinga, espousing the cause of the Ming dynasty, made it possible for Amoy and other anchorages to be entered by English ships. With the crushing of the last Ming adherents all the ports of the Empire were theoretically open, but the restrictions of the local authorities and their heavy taxation made the privilege illusory. The Dutch, having evacuated Formosa by agreement with Koxinga, had lost their foothold, and revived the idea of exclusion. Soon the harbours which the Arabs had so long frequented, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, and Hangchow, were definitely abandoned by foreign ships, Canton alone surviving because of the Portuguese settlement at Macao.

§ 12

Chinese history, from the time of the Ming to the Manchu abdication in 1912, is in reality connected history so far as foreign maritime nations are concerned, as though but one Imperial House were involved; for the Manchus, when they successfully transferred their sovereignty from Manchuria to the vast domain inside the Great Wall, made but few changes. The essence of their rule was indeed the same as that of their predecessors. They inherited all its griefs which sprang from over-population; dealt with them as well as they could; and gradually admitted that the Ming attitude was inevitable.

The question of the merchant-adventurers, who were nibbling at the coasts, and that of Christian missionaries, who had been admitted to the precincts of the Forbidden City, were still police questions, too trivial to involve the policy of the State as the Russian advance by land to the Amur region had done, and were left for local officials to deal with; but they were questions which were becoming more and more sharply defined. The fact that the Dutch had been forced out of Formosa during the Ming war was not a trivial event. That the Japanese had issued edicts against Christianity and closed their doors absolutely to foreigners because the Dutch had explained to them how the King of Spain first sent priests and afterwards soldiers to complete the

spiritual conquest by military means, must also have been duly noted; since, in spite of meagre communications, Korea still formed a bridge between China and Japan, and reports must have filtered through. But foreigners seemed more useful than dangerous during K'ang Hsi's long reign; and it was not until the third Manchu sovereign, Yung Chêng, came to the throne that, irritated by the activities of missionaries in the south, the court commenced a policy of religious repression. That the Manchu Emperors should have shown vindictiveness, after having for a hundred years cherished learned Roman Catholic fathers within the precincts of the palace, was a proof that behind the Throne was a veiled weakness, the fear that its mastery over the immense population might be shaken by the Christian faith. Yet these persecutions were not of great significance. They died down after the martyrdom of small numbers, and were in the end discontinued, the controversy between the Jesuits and the Dominicans over the question of ancestor-worship in the end destroying the possibility of a Roman Catholic China.

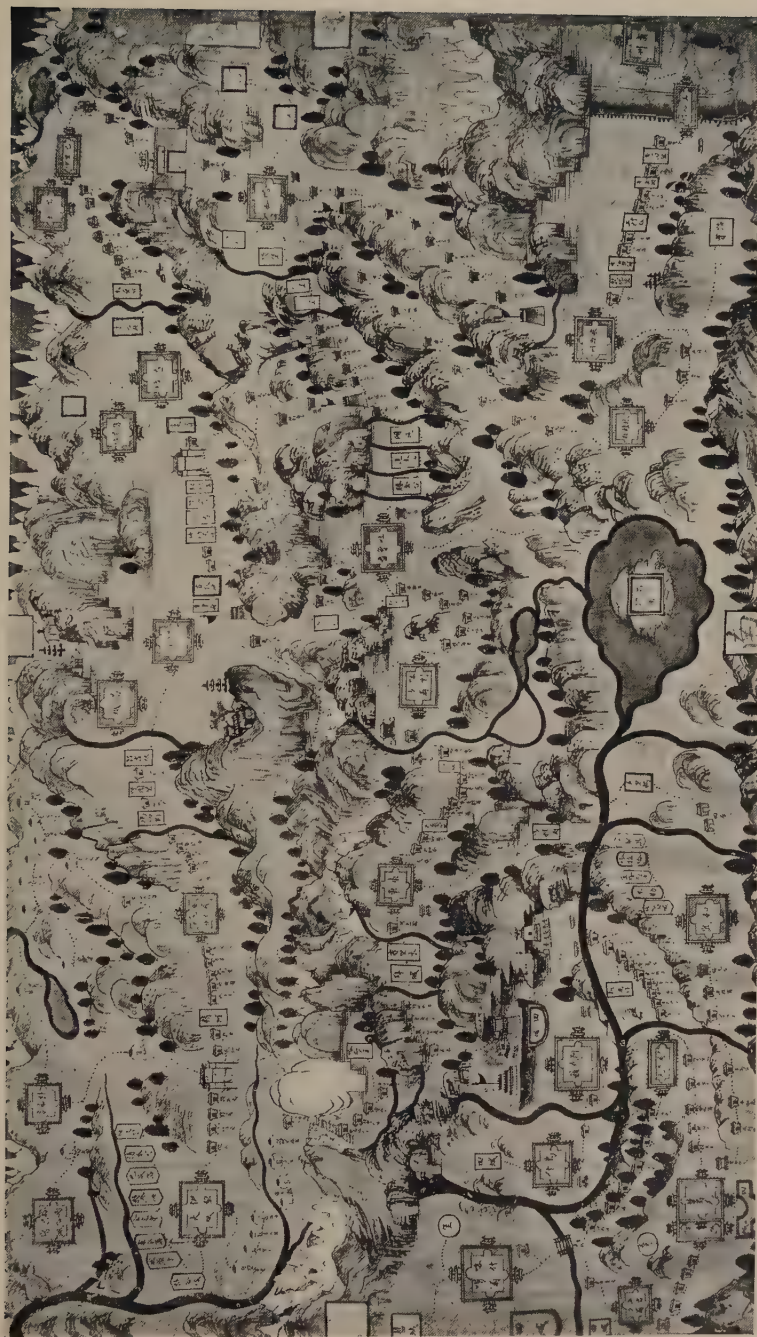
It was navigation which finally raised the grim spectre which nothing could exorcize. The sea, having played no rôle in the evolution of the nation, was instinctively mistrusted and feared. Unlike the Sumerians and the Babylonians, the Chinese had no water-god; they had confined their worship of Nature to the sky and the earth, and the water betrayed them. The Imperial regulations limiting

official correspondence to the post-roads, even when the sea route was most convenient, were a sign of their mistrust and fear ; the absence of any navy except river-guard vessels was a further indication of their indifference to the sea. The Manchus, in their long and exhausting struggle to overcome the last supporter of the Mings, the semi-piratical hero Koxinga, who from Formosa and the Fukhien coasts had fought them for the best part of a generation, had good reason to hate the water which had disclosed to them the limits of land-power, forcing them to lay waste the coast so as to keep the rebel fleet away. The whole military plan to make Peking the invincible capital ignored the sea except for a few river fortifications, although the ocean was only ninety miles distant as the crow flies from the Dynastic Gate, and was always in sight along the direct route to the dynastic home in Manchuria. This military plan consisted in maintaining a light garrison under arms in the capital, with dense reserves in military colonies in the mountain mass north and east of the city, and in a surrounding ring of twenty-five cities. South and west, the adjacent provinces were formed into a sort of glacis, 500 miles deep and 700 miles broad, with only civil governors over them, and their military affairs closely supervised from the metropolis. The rest of the country, held under a system of viceroys ruling over linked provinces, allowed one province to be mobilized against the other as a local administrative act, the road of retreat into

Manchuria being always heavily garrisoned. That was plainly a defensive against the civil population, a defensive not against a problematical revolt, but based on the experience of the forty years' persistent fighting which had followed the conquest-year, and which had afforded ample proof that South China had never really been won at all. This defensive, unlike the historic defensive of the Chinese people which for 3000 years had faced north and west against the Tartars, now faced south—a pregnant fact.

The flank, which was the sea, was totally unguarded. Therefore safety could only lie in forcing Western vessels to remain so far removed from the metropolis that the northern coast did not constitute a menace. It was this which was done. Chinese policy became pinned to an inaction which was the forerunner of disaster.

The monopoly of trade established at Canton early in the eighteenth century by K'ang Hsi was an iron restriction, the maximum the Emperors were prepared to grant Europeans after two centuries' experience of their ways. Every precaution which ingenuity could suggest was taken so that the delicate and artificial balance which a host of regulations had established in a vast area containing hundreds of millions of inhabitants should be in no wise disturbed by an alien force. The monopoly commenced with the nomination of an "Emperor's Merchant" in 1702; then was extended to a group; and finally, by an Imperial edict in 1757, which



AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PLAN OF CENTRAL ASIA.

An orographic map of the Central Asia domain. The original is coloured and six feet long by three feet broad, showing all fortified cities from the western extremity of the Great Wall to Kashgar. The dark circle in the lower centre is Lob-nor, into which flows the Tarim river. The main mountain ranges and the walled garrison cities as re-established with outpost stations after Kang Hsi's and Ch'ien Lung's campaigns are clearly marked.

prohibited trade at every other port, it was restricted to a close corporation, which lasted from 1760 to 1842. This was the celebrated Co-Hong of thirteen merchants, who were mainly natives not of Canton but of Fukhien, which province had for so long been a mart for overseas trade with the Arabs and the South Sea. The Canton Collector was always a Manchu clansman directly appointed by the Emperor, so that the special requirements of the dynasty should always be particularly considered. He presided over the meetings of the Co-Hong, transmitting the Imperial orders to the monopoly merchants, who were the sole channel of communication with European supercargoes, thus making these latter subordinate to Chinese traders and the slaves to whatever whims might seize local officials. The foreign ships were allowed to come up river for the trading season only after they had paid crushing measurement fees. They remained anchored in the stream under official protection while their cargoes were unloaded and new ones obtained. But the end of the trading season saw every ship and every supercargo forced to leave—Macao being the only inch of Chinese soil where the white man might legally remain. Constant protests to the Throne at the exactions practised brought temporary improvement, but the formula had been thought out with care and was never varied. While it has not been possible to obtain the Chinese state papers of this period, the story of the secret discussions, which must have been

constant, and which grew in acerbity from year to year, is the story of the travail of the Chinese soul brought face to face with phenomena which rebutted from beginning to end all Chinese dogma. Still, the system established reconciled the anomaly of men of non-tribute-bearing nations having access to the Chinese domain, and was an imitation of the monopolies which all maritime nations had formed among their nationals to exploit the riches of the East.

Trading throughout Asia had undergone a vast transformation. The Dutch, who had supplanted the Portuguese in the seventeenth century, and who had possessed a line of factories extending from the Cape to Japan, were in the eighteenth century rapidly eclipsed by the English. The amalgamation of the two English corporations into the Honourable East India Company in 1708 allowed the development of the traffic between the growing Indian domain and China by so-called country-ships, in addition to the direct trade. Soon it gave the exchanges a regular and definite character which they had never before possessed, and commenced that method of financing commerce by bills drawn on London which meant political as well as monetary predominance through control of the specie market.

The expansion which followed was very great. The profits so increased from year to year for foreigner and native alike that in the end the three years' term of office of the Manchu Collector at

Canton was reputed to be worth a million sterling, probably the richest administrative post the world has ever known. It was the China trade which enabled Warren Hastings and Wellesley to carry out their schemes of Empire, and which at the same time satisfied the demands of the East India Company in the matter of dividends. While the earlier figures are obscure, the last fifty years of the monopoly produced amazing wealth. It has been calculated that the value of the tea exported from China in the seventeen years, 1793 to 1810, was £27,000,000, while the price realized in England was £55,000,000, a profit of 103 per cent. The amount of opium imported in the fifty years between 1790 and 1840 exceeded half-a-million chests, with a gross value of £100,000,000 sterling, of which 60 per cent was returned as pure profit. The annual fleets grew in size from year to year, until the very presence of these thousands of seamen constituted a problem and a danger. By the end of the eighteenth century, as in India so in China, it was the English and only the English who were of political importance, because their shipping and their goods monopolized the market. This the Chinese fully understood.

§ 13

Until the abdication in 1796 of Ch'ien Lung, who determined, after nearly sixty years' rule, that he must not eclipse the reign of his grandfather,

K'ang Hsi, Manchu power remained undisputed. If there were cracks in the edifice they remained hidden. K'ang Hsi, in his great controversy with the Popes over the subject of ancestor-worship, had vindicated his claim that his universal dominion must be undisputed, and had ruled that the custom was political and must override any decree of the Holy See that it was idolatrous. The Jesuits, anxious to extend their power and able to appreciate the Chinese viewpoint, had from the first accepted this reasoning. Ricci, the founder of the Jesuit missions in Peking, had written at the beginning of the seventeenth century: "The true Temple of the scholars is the Temple of Confucius. The law ordains that there should be one in every town, placed alongside the residence of the magistrate. It is there that all the city fathers repair on festival days to pay him honour. But no prayers are said either to him or to their defunct ancestors." The other missionary Orders had not been so submissive, and during a long and painful duel continued for more than a century, ended by winning the battle, and losing the possibility of converting to their Faith the governing classes, owing to the Papal Bull of 1742 which "revoked, rescinded, and abolished" all previous exemptions on the subject of Chinese rites, and ordered that the cult of Confucius and of ancestors be for ever discontinued.

During Ch'ien Lung's long overlordship numerous military expeditions had stamped out rebellions in Central Asia and added lustre to the Empire,

the most remarkable being the march to Tibet in 1792 to expel Nepaulese invaders—a march which not only accomplished its purpose, but saw Chinese generals enter Nepaul and look down on the plains of India.

It was here that they learnt, for the first time, that the English were not only great traders, but that their power was paramount in the heart of India.

The leaders of the expedition, returning to Peking almost simultaneously with the arrival of the Macartney Mission which had been despatched to secure better trading conditions, reported what they had discovered. They imbued the whole of metropolitan officialdom with the idea that a menace was looming up; for there is no doubt that the possession of powerful bases throughout Asia by European nations was beginning to be understood as a development of sinister import. The strength of European artillery, and the growing size of European ships, were factors which were no longer obscure; they were commented upon in numerous reports.

Yet the pretensions of the Throne remained unabated. Lord Macartney, disembarking with magnificent presents in 1793 at the anchorage, which was only ninety miles as the crow flies from the Dynastic Gate, found the boats on which he was to make his journey by canal to the capital decorated with pennants announcing that he was the bearer of tribute from the English—an ironical reply to

the names of the two great ships on which he and his suite had navigated across the oceans as heralds of England's might, the *Lion* and the *Hindustan*. Difficulties with interpreters and ignorance of local customs have been blamed for the English want of success : yet to ask, when a panic was not far off, for the opening of three new trade depots on the coast, together with warehouses in Peking, and a strict application of the Imperial tariff, was to court refusal.

Ch'ien Lung's abdication in favour of his son, Chia Ch'ing, was the beginning of the final phase.

The antipathy of the inhabitants towards the strange and unknown European world was soon fomented by all the means at the disposal of the ruling caste. The ill-will of the new sovereign increased with his personal embarrassments. The secret societies, which have always been a feature of Chinese life, after a period of quiescence which had lasted more than a hundred years, had begun to stir from one end of the country to the other. In 1803, when Ch'ien Lung had not been dead more than four years, the new Emperor was attacked in open day in the streets of Peking, the plotters almost succeeding in attaining their object and killing a number of the Imperial escort, an event unparalleled in the dynastic chronicles.

In 1813 there was a second attempt. A body of two hundred conspirators fought their way into the Forbidden City by one of the gates, and, taking the guards by surprise, made straight for the

presence of the Emperor. Most of the assassins fell in the struggle with such of the soldiers and officials as possessed the courage to bar their way ; but several, evading all opposition, reached Chia Ch'ing's own chamber. His son, snatching up a gun, shot two of the intruders, while a nephew despatched a third, and the peril was over. The Prince who had saved him was at once proclaimed heir-apparent with every solemnity, and duly came to the throne as the Emperor Tao Kwang in 1820. But the rulership was now an embittered one. When a fresh attempt was made by Lord Amherst in 1816, as British envoy, to ease the conditions at Canton, he failed even to see the Emperor, the officials trying to force him in his travel-stained clothes to the audience hall the moment he arrived, hoping by this stratagem that in his fatigue he would consent to the ceremony of prostration, called *Kowtow*, which Lord Macartney had never agreed to, and from which he had been exempted after he undertook to bend his knee as he must do to his own sovereign.

The following year, to complete the humiliation, the Emperor sent a letter in Latin to the King of England through the Manchu Collector at Canton which was couched in terms exhibiting the strange problem of incompatible civilizations in a vivid manner :

. . . Your envoys verbally informed my high officers that when the moment had arrived they would submit to the kneeling and bowing, without any breach of the

prescribed rites. I therefore issued an Edict under the terms of which your envoys were to be admitted to my presence on the 7th day of the 7th moon (August 29, 1816). On the day fixed for them to contemplate me in audience, and when your envoys had already reached the gates of the palace, and I was about to take my seat on the throne, your chief plenipotentiary declared that a sudden sickness did not allow him to move or walk. I considered that it was possible for the chief envoy to be suddenly unwell and ordered that he need not enter the audience hall, but that the two secondary envoys should do so. Thereupon they also declared that they were unwell. This studied impoliteness was therefore identical in both cases. I did not severely reprimand them, but ordered them to return the same day to their country. Your envoys not having appeared in my presence, there was no question of your Petition being presented to me and it was carried away by your envoys.

Nevertheless, having the thought in my mind that you, O King, had sent this Memorial with offerings from a distance of many thousands of miles, and that if your envoys acted disrespectfully in transmitting to me the expression of your sentiments the fault was theirs, I have understood that you have a respectful heart. I have received and accepted among the objects despatched as tribute geographical maps, pictures, and portraits. I praise your sincere heart and I accept all. In addition I send you a sceptre of felicity in white jade, a green jade Court collar, and other gifts as a sign of affection. You reside at too great a distance from China for the sending envoys by sea on such a long voyage to be anything but difficult. Besides your envoys cannot be informed regarding Chinese rites and ceremonies, and the consequence is repeated discussions for which I have no pleasure. The

Celestial Court does not rate as precious objects coming from far away ; and all the curious and ingenious things of your Kingdom cannot be considered by me as having rare value. King, keep peace among your own people and look after the safety of your territory without relaxing your care. In future it is unnecessary to send further envoys by land or sea. Know only how to open your heart and study benevolence. Then will it be said that without sending envoys annually to my Court you progress in civilization.

It is that you may long obey that I address you this Imperial Command.

§ 14

The nineteenth century had certainly opened inauspiciously ; everything conspired to make things worse. To the ordinary troubles arising from the clash of rival civilizations were added special and peculiar features. The Napoleonic wars, pursuing their devastating course round the world, while enhancing the naval glory of England, had brought a grimmer spirit. Chinese neutrality, if there could be such a thing in view of the pretensions of the Throne, had been treated with scant respect, and enemy ships were either captured in Chinese anchorages or brought thither to have their cargoes sold. The rapid growth of the Indian Empire, still only the appanage of a trading company, yet boasting an army and a navy of its own, was a signal that a new period was at hand when it would be impossible to be bound by the restrictions of a hoary past. England, casting round for

colonies and trading posts, had shattered every Power from the Cape to the Philippines. Java, captured and handed back, had led to the founding of Singapore, a potential Gibraltar with which to close the China Sea. Trade, expanding still more remarkably than ever before, had now reached portentous figures which were constantly swelled by the importation of opium.

The crisis produced by this drug, which had followed in the wake of tobacco, was peculiar.

The smoking of tobacco had been unknown to the Chinese prior to the coming of the Spaniards, who had brought with them to the Philippines the American narcotic. It was introduced into China early in the seventeenth century, and in spite of numerous Imperial edicts, the custom spread like wildfire. The practice of mixing opium with tobacco as a resource against malaria was brought from Java, but until the year 1700 opium was not smoked by itself. In the official tariff of the Empire issued in 1733 opium was charged a light duty and not considered noxious, other circumstances making its increased importation a trial of strength. That its use was recognized as a great evil cannot, however, be denied, since in 1800 its importation was rigidly forbidden, and thereafter it was an illicit trade.

In 1833 the China monopoly of the East India Company was abolished because it had seemed unfair and illogical to restrain independent traders when other nations were encouraging free trade.

Lord Napier, appointed Superintendent of Trade, and arriving in China in 1834, was thrown headlong into a situation which was necessarily calamitous. Chinese officials, not understanding the economic reasons which had led to the change, determined to resist it to the last, fearing that if the great English trading corporation could no longer be held directly responsible for England's China policy the last line of defence would be lost. The trade was consequently stopped, and every effort made by the official envoy to enter into official relations frustrated. There was a bombardment and trade was reopened. Lord Napier, struggling with an octopus, was exhausted after a few months and died of sickness and a broken heart. A new Superintendent, a weak man, took his place; then for five years opium, frigates, boycotts, and despair are mixed with profits, frowning batteries, subterfuges, and contempt—all the clatter of the heavy gears of national machinery engaging and propelling masses of people towards unknown goals.

In 1839 the Peking Court made up its mind. The merchant adventurers nibbling at the coast were no longer a police problem. They had become the major problem of the Empire, a vast problem affecting not only political stability, but the treasure-chests of the country. Opium was coming in by the ship-load, the amounts increasing by leaps and bounds through official connivance and leading to a drain of silver far more important than any drain of lives which self-indulgence might

bring. All the wealth which China had obtained from the silver mines of the Americas in the process of exchanging her teas and silks with foreign traders during two hundred years seemed indeed at stake ; the jealously hoarded silver bars were now being shipped away as fast as they were accumulated, to pay for the delights of the opium divan.

So in 1839 there was the uncompromising order from the Throne. Every chest of opium in Canton must be surrendered, or the lives of all the English merchants would be forfeited. The chests were duly surrendered, 20,291 in all, valued at six million dollars, and the contents, mixed with lime and salt, thrown into the sea.

War had become inevitable as soon as troops and ships could come, although war could have been avoided by a bilateral arrangement prohibiting the coming of any opium at all. But that would have involved recognizing the right of British officials to negotiate with Chinese officials, which the Throne denied. The issue was not opium, but Chinese cosmogony *versus* Western civilization, as impossible a matter to decide by battle as the question of religion or the arts. Yet since the survival of the fittest is the first law of nature, the clash could not fail to give a definite result.

Small collisions and vexations marked the end of 1839. A fatal affray between English sailors and Chinese villagers off the shores of Hongkong disclosed to Chinese officialdom that Britain now

had her own court, a Court of Admiralty and Criminal Jurisdiction which could sit on any British ship in any Chinese harbour and which claimed the sole right to judge British subjects within a hundred miles of the China coast. Eminent domain was indeed imperilled ! Yet how could it be otherwise when the cruelty of strangulation was the *lex loci* even for accidental manslaughter ? Because of the English refusal to surrender the offenders in this affair, Canton was "closed for ever to British ships and to British merchandise".

§ 15

Palmerston, who had followed the drama with discerning eyes from a distance of 10,000 miles, accepted the challenge. The statesman who had not hesitated to threaten war in European waters for the sake of one man was the last person to fail in such a tragic hour. For five years he had been reading despatches which had filled him with amazement and spleen, and now he was ready to show fight. In 1840 a fleet of 16 war vessels mounting 540 guns arrived in China waters, together with 27 transports carrying 4000 troops. Four armed steamers accompanied them, the first public notice that another natural agency—steam—had been recruited for the struggle with the Nature State.

The expedition was the bearer of an important despatch inscribed to "the Minister of the Emperor of China", a despatch deemed so important indeed

that three identical copies had been made so that delivery might be attempted at several points on the coast, and the Peking Court placed in possession of its text no matter what mandarindom might try to do; for the refusal to receive official documents from British officials on the plea that the regulations of the State did not permit it had been one of the griefs of the first representatives. The essential text is as follows :

The undersigned, Her Britannick Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, has the honour to inform the Minister of The Emperor of China, that Her Majesty The Queen of Great Britain has sent a Naval and Military Force to the Coast of China, to demand from The Emperor satisfaction and redress for injuries inflicted by Chinese Authorities upon British Subjects resident in China, and for insults offered by those same Authorities to the British Crown.

Of late years the Sovereign of Great Britain has stationed at Canton an officer of the British Crown, no wise connected with trade, and specially forbidden to trade, but ordered to place himself in direct communication with the local Authorities at Canton in order to afford protection to British Subjects, and to be the organ of communication between the British and the Chinese Governments. . . .

But the British Government has learnt with much regret, and with extreme surprise; that during the last year certain officers, acting under the Authority of The Emperor of China, have committed violent outrages against the British Residents at Canton, who were living peaceably in that City, trusting to the good faith of the Chinese Government; and that those same Chinese

officers, forgetting the respect which was due to the British Superintendent in his Character of Agent of the British Crown, have treated that Superintendent also with violence and indignity.

It seems that the cause assigned for these proceedings was the contraband trade in Opium, carried on by some British Subjects.

It appears that the Laws of the Chinese Empire forbid the importation of Opium into China, and declare that all Opium which may be brought into the Country is liable to confiscation.

The Queen of England desires that Her Subjects who may go into Foreign Countries should obey the Laws of those Countries ; and Her Majesty does not wish to protect them from the just consequences of any offences which they may commit in foreign parts. But, on the other hand, Her Majesty cannot permit that Her Subjects residing abroad should be treated with violence, and be exposed to insult and injustice ; and when wrong is done to them, Her Majesty will see that they obtain redress.

Now if a Government makes a Law which applies both to its own Subjects and to Foreigners, such Government ought to enforce that Law impartially or not at all. If it enforces that Law on Foreigners, it is bound to enforce it also upon its own Subjects ; and it has no right to permit its own Subjects to violate the Law with impunity, and then to punish Foreigners for doing the very same thing.

Neither is it just that such a Law should for a great length of time be allowed to sleep as a dead letter, and that both Natives and Foreigners should be taught to consider it as of no effect, and that then suddenly, and without sufficient warning, it should be put in force with the utmost rigour and severity.

Now, although the Law of China declared that the importation of Opium should be forbidden, yet it is notorious that for many years past that importation has been connived at and permitted by the Chinese Authorities at Canton ; nay, more, that those Authorities, from the Governor downwards, have made an annual and considerable profit by taking money from Foreigners for the permission to import Opium ; and of late the Chinese Authorities have gone so far in setting this Law at defiance, that Mandarin Boats were employed to bring Opium to Canton from the Foreign Ships lying at Lintin.

Did the Imperial Government at Peking know these things ?

If it did know these things, it virtually abolished its own Law by permitting its own officers to act as if no such Law existed. If the Chinese Government says it did not know of these things, if it says that it knew indeed that the Law was violated by Foreigners who brought in Opium, but did not know that the Law was violated by its own officers who assisted in the importation, and received fixed Sums of money for permitting it, then may Foreign Governments ask, how it happened that a Government so watchful as that of China should have one eye open to see the transgressions of Foreigners, but should have the other eye shut, and unable to see the transgressions of its own officers ?

If the Chinese Government had suddenly determined that the Law against the importation of Opium should be enforced, instead of remaining, as it long had been, a dead letter, that Government should have begun by punishing its own officers, who were the greatest delinquents in this matter, because it was their special duty to execute the Law of their own Sovereign. But the course pursued by the Chinese Government has been the very reverse ; for

they have left unpunished their own officers, who were most to blame, and they have used violence against Foreigners, who were led into transgression by the encouragement and protection afforded to them by the Governor of Canton and his inferior Officers. . . .

The British Government therefore has determined at once to send out a Naval and Military Force to the Coast of China to act in support of its demands, and in order to convince the Imperial Government that the British Government attaches the utmost importance to this matter, and that the affair is one which will not admit of delay.

And further, for the purpose of impressing still more strongly upon the Government of Peking the importance which the British Government attaches to this matter, and the urgent necessity which exists for an immediate as well as a satisfactory settlement thereof, the Commander of the Expedition has received orders that, immediately upon his arrival upon the Chinese Coast, he shall proceed to blockade the principal Chinese ports, that he shall intercept and detain and hold in deposit all Chinese Vessels which he may meet with, and that he shall take possession of some convenient part of the Chinese territory, to be held and occupied by the British Forces until everything shall be concluded and executed to the satisfaction of the British Government.

These measures of hostility on the part of Great Britain against China are not only justified, but even rendered absolutely necessary, by the outrages which have been committed by the Chinese Authorities against British officers and Subjects, and these hostilities will not cease until a satisfactory arrangement shall have been made by the Chinese Government.

Such was the argument, unanswerable enough to all who were the heirs of Roman jurisprudence—

but not to be answered by, and indeed irrelevant to, those whose sovereignty could only be real if it were unlimited and unquestioned.

It was never answered. Before the despatch had arrived Chinese provincial proclamations were already offering rewards for the capture and destruction of English ships; and there had been published a tariff for Englishmen, dead or alive, according to their grades, the heads of officers being rated at \$5000 each and those of sepoys at \$50, the prize money for ships being still greater.

The British thereupon proceeded methodically in accordance with instructions. Canton was at first blockaded, and the ships sailed for the north to attempt military pressure as well as communication with the Court. Both proved negative steps. The year 1840 dragged into 1841 with irritation constantly growing. Canton was now bombarded, its forts captured, and the final assault about to occur, when the Imperial Commissioner offered a half-hearted composition and a ransom for the city equivalent to the opium destroyed, which was weakly accepted, Hongkong being also ceded on a plan which would have made it like Macao—a settlement held on sufferance. As soon as the news reached England, the British Agent was disavowed and recalled in disgrace, even Queen Victoria writing to the King of the Belgians: “The Chinese business vexes us much and Palmerston is deeply mortified at it. All we want might have been got if it had not been for the unaccountably strange

behaviour of Charles Elliott, who completely disobeyed his instructions and tried to get the lowest terms he could."

A new plenipotentiary was now sent out with explicit instructions. Hongkong was occupied and became the principal base. The land forces were raised to 10,000 infantry, together with a strong artillery contingent. Then, in 1842, a definite campaign commenced. Amoy, Tinghai on the Chusan archipelago, Ningpo, and Shanghai were occupied by force. The British fleet, boldly proceeding up the Yangtsze, captured Chinkiang at the mouth of the Grand Canal, a new and unexpected feature being the desperate resistance here and elsewhere of the small Manchu garrisons, which, unlike the Chinese mercenary troops, had to be cut down to the last man before they gave way. The British fleet was off Nanking cleared for action and prepared to occupy the southern capital when the white flag appeared.

Negotiations immediately commenced and terminated within six days. The British terms were totally accepted. The Throne of China, without calling on its reserves or resisting stubbornly, had abandoned its main thesis. The five ports from Canton to the Yangtsze, which for hundreds of years had been Arab anchorages, were thrown open to international trade; the Imperial tariff enforced; an indemnity for the military operations paid; the Co-hong monopoly abolished; Hongkong ceded in perpetuity; and foreign officials given equal

status with Chinese officials. But the opium question was not touched upon, a curious and interesting indication that it was not the true issue for native or foreigner ; while the Chusan islands, which had been a convenient and highly necessary base for operations on the Yangtze, were handed back, although their retention would have done much to influence history.

The campaign had cost the English from first to last 520 casualties against 18,000 Chinese—not to speak of the Manchu garrisons of Chinkiang and Chapu, which had committed suicide wholesale with their wives and children sooner than surrender.

§ 16

If the direct attempts made on the person of the Emperor at the beginning of the nineteenth century had weakened autocracy, and the military action of a foreign state had shattered the prestige of the Empire, the Taiping Rebellion was destined to inflict a still more disastrous blow. Beginning in Canton province shortly after the signature of the Nanking Treaty under the inspiration of an unbalanced man into whose hands, strangely enough, had fallen writings dealing with the Gospels, and who baptized himself and his relatives into a pseudo-Christianity, this movement was incubated in the general discontent. Finding a sudden vent in a provincial rising which had nothing to do with its beliefs, it became a national movement affecting

all South China by reason of its success. Now taking on redoubled force, it spread to the Yangtze valley under the leadership of the man who called himself the Heavenly Prince and claimed kinship with the Founder of Christianity.

In 1853 a motley army of followers led by him reached Nanking, which was captured by assault and remained for eleven years the capital of a rebel empire. A march on Peking, strangely resembling the march of the rebel Li Tze-ch'êng, who two centuries before had overthrown the last Ming sovereign, reached the outskirts of Tientsin ; had the insurgents possessed horses the capital might have fallen. Forced to fall back owing to frantic attacks from Mongol cavalry, who had been brought post-haste from the frontier garrisons, the rebels henceforth confined themselves to the lower Yangtze ; but the moral was evident to every one. China was cracking under a regime unable to adjust itself to new conditions ; China was going to pieces in a way which had often happened before, although never before from sea attack.

Yet official obstruction and official enmity towards all foreigners continued in spite of rights which were now the possession of half a dozen maritime Powers. Treaty revision, promised by the first instruments, was constantly opposed. At Canton, the centre of the old griefs, there was so much enmity that life was a constant misery and the country districts full of danger. It only required an incident to bring matters to a head.

This was soon enough provided. A trumpety affair, in 1856, involving the arrest of a Chinese crew on a ship called the *Arrow*, flying the British flag, brought an ultimatum which was scouted. There were consultations between England and France; and this time Canton was not only attacked but occupied by a British force acting in union with a French force, the city being administered under a provisional government for many months, Parkes, the local consul, emerging as a strong man whose will had triumphed. The struggle could not end there: it was determined that, as nothing would teach the sovereigns that their officials could no longer act as they had done for thousands of years, the glint of hostile bayonets in the vicinity of the palace must carry its own message.

In 1858, full agreement having been established, British and French expeditions accompanied the two plenipotentiaries, Lord Elgin and Baron Gros, to the Tientsin anchorage, where they were joined by American and Russian representatives. What was to be repeated several times occurred for the first time: the Taku forts were captured by assault, and the way into Tientsin opened. Thereafter were seen the same phenomena as twenty years before: contrition, anger, tergiversation, and finally authorized parleys with the full sanction of the Throne.

The negotiations were left entirely in the hands of the secretaries and interpreters, men who knew from personal experience what was wanted. Of

these the two Englishmen, Wade, later to become Minister, and Lay, to be Inspector-General of the new Customs, were the outstanding spokesmen. For years they had listened to reproaches from their fellow-countrymen that England had failed to obtain the minimum necessary in 1842, although what had been won then by a field force of 6000 soldiers and 4000 seamen from an Empire of 400 millions of people seemed great indeed contrasted with what had gone before. The opening of the entire coast and the great Yangtsze River, and freedom to travel in the interior, together with revised rules of trade, were consequently inevitable demands ; but there was more. A satanic inspiration made the Englishmen understand that the Manchu resistance would only end with the establishment of permanent Legations under the shadow of the palace gates.

Round this point, and the right to travel in the interior, a desperate battle was fought. The Imperial Commissioners were defending the last citadel of Chinese sovereignty. They instinctively knew that if this were lost the Empire would be for ever attainted, since seclusion and sanctity are synonymous terms. Bullying and brow-beating were freely resorted to ; it was war to the knife. Only the constantly repeated threat of the reopening of hostilities, with an immediate advance on Peking, wore down resistance. In the end the Imperial Commissioners surrendered, crying that they would be beheaded for their work. Sole among the four

treaties which were signed — English, French, American, and Russian—the English contained the clause conferring the right of permanent diplomatic residence in the capital.

It was a great victory and a great defeat. Working like a poison in the veins of the Court party, it brought madness next year, whereas a better understanding of the facts might have resulted in compromise. For Lord Elgin, after the signature, was convinced by the patient arguments of high provincial officials at Shanghai when he was discussing the tariff, that it would be better to bow to prejudices and accept the formula of periodic diplomatic visits to the capital which the treaties of the other Powers had provided for, pending a reform in the administration. His tacit assent had obtained him special permission to proceed up the great Yangtze to Hankow on a voyage of exploration, so that he might see with his own eyes the devastation the Taiping regime had brought, and the necessity of the maritime Powers staying their hands.

All was, however, ruined next year. 1859 was the year of ratification, and a British plenipotentiary arrived off Taku Bar for the exchange in company with French and American representatives. But the river was boomed and the forts armed to the teeth. Nobody responsible could be found to talk to; the garrison was said to be entirely local militia. Some days went by in perplexity. Then, twenty-four hours after an ultimatum had been sent,

a despatch arrived saying that the Viceroy was waiting to receive his guests, but not there; the British and French representatives must act as the American Minister had consented to do and enter the metropolitan area, not by the direct way of the Tientsin River, but by a side door, a place named Peitang, ten miles up the coast.

It was too late; force had already been determined upon. But the Chinese had learnt much from bitter experience. The ranges were accurately known and marked; and as British storming parties were towed in boats to landing-places beneath the forts, they were met by a tempest of shot and shell which decimated them. Persisting, they found the mud and the slime of the foreshore a more fatal foe than the guns. They were finally forced to retire with a loss of 434 killed and wounded—almost as great a casualty list as the Treaty of Nanking had cost; and the question of ratification was indefinitely postponed.

The prestige of British arms had suffered a severe blow, while the credit of the Manchu war party had been fully re-established. It had become evident that a treaty conferring the right of diplomatic residence in the capital would require a maximum military effort.

Fresh negotiations in Europe re-established Anglo-French unity, and 1860 saw formidable expeditions fitted out.

§ 17

On June 26, 1860, the two Allied Governments notified the Western Powers that a state of war with China existed and that they intended to adhere to the Declaration of Paris of 1856. Lord Elgin and Baron Gros were once more named ambassadors. The British force now assembled numbered 18,211 of all ranks, and the French 7000. The British made their base at Talienwan (Dairen), the French at Chefoo, the numbers available for the advance on Peking being 10,500 British troops and 6000 French, the rest being needed for garrisons along the coast.

The landing was affected at Peitang, ten miles up the coast from Taku Bar—precisely the spot where the year before, when faced with the inevitable, Chinese officialdom had suddenly insisted the plenipotentiaries should proceed to Peitang. Large forces of the Mongol cavalry, which seven years before had driven back the Taiping rebels, opposed the advance and fought bravely against a heavy artillery fire. They were soon driven back and routed. The Taku forts, taken in the rear, surrendered after sharp fighting, the soldiery stripping off their uniforms and sitting down in silent thousands behind their redoubts as the Allied soldiery came pouring in through the sally-ports.

Tientsin was soon reached, and the advance on Peking commenced in spite of the vain endeavours of the Court to parley. The attempt to arrest the

onward march by diplomacy became indeed more and more desperate the nearer the hostile forces drew to the capital ; but the ambassadors adhered to their original resolve to listen to no overtures until they had reached Tungchow, a suburb fourteen miles from Peking, when the capital would be in their grasp.

The Chinese High Commissioners, driven to desperation by the marching columns which, brushing aside resistance, were now so close to the Emperor's residence, could think of nothing to force them to stop but a childish stratagem. They declared that they would accept all terms, if only the armies would stay their progress and the ambassadors come forward with small escorts for the signature of the conventions. Parkes, the consul from Canton, destined to become celebrated through his captivity, was chosen to ride ahead and arrange terms to safeguard the persons of the plenipotentiaries ;—he was to demand an escort of a thousand men for each ambassador, and that the armies should remain four and a half miles to the rear of their diplomatic chiefs while the negotiations proceeded.

Parkes rode back with the terms nominally accepted and a day later returned to acquaint the Imperial Commissioners with certain facts. The exact sequence of events which followed is blurred by the turmoil which started in the ranks of the Chinese as the plot became known. Mounted scouts reported back to the Allied commanders

that Tartar troops in great numbers were pouring forward to the sites already selected for the camping-ground of the Allies when their diplomatic chiefs should have commenced their *pourparlers*. Parkes and his escort, being out of sight in the suburb of Tungchow, did not know that preparations for battle had secretly commenced ; but on his second visit he found the Imperial Commissioners much less friendly, and particularly objecting to the stipulation that the letter of the Queen of England to the Emperor of China should be delivered in solemn audience after the treaty had been signed.

On his way back for the second time Parkes saw many troops in prepared ambuscades, together with masked batteries. It was plain that a trap was being laid ; the Chinese were preparing to capture the ambassadors the moment they left the protection of their armies ! Parkes, making a despairing effort to avoid conflict by a fresh *démarche*, retraced his steps and sought a final interview. It proved fruitless. It was time to think of himself and his escort. Still hoping to get through before the beginning of hostilities, he suddenly heard the sound of guns. Although he carried a flag of truce, he was surrounded and made prisoner, being taken to Sengkolintsin, the Mongol commander, before whom he was hurled prostrate on the ground. Interrogated, he declared himself unauthorized to treat, and, accompanied by a dozen fellow-captives, he was hastened into Peking, where he was thrown into the Board of Punishments and loaded with

chains. Here he was constantly interrogated, the main object being to discover through what channel he obtained his knowledge of Chinese politics, a strange enough curiosity on the part of the dying regime.

Meanwhile the two Allied armies had broken through the trap which had been so childishly prepared, and were rapidly advancing. Now for the first time a dominant figure appeared on the Chinese side, showing that the dynasty understood that its fate was at stake. Prince Kung, the brother of the Emperor Hsien Feng, announced his appointment as High Commissioner with plenipotentiary powers and asked for a truce. He received a reply that the prisoners must first be surrendered. He answered that they were now comfortable and that peace must be arranged for the prisoners' safety. The ambassadors' reply was that the Allied forces would advance.

On October 5, after a delay of two weeks in futile negotiations, during which the Allies drew in their reserves and replenished their ammunition, the advance was resumed. The commanders were informed that the Emperor was at his Summer Palace of Yuen Ming Yuen, some five miles to the northwest of the city, and that Sengkolintsin, the Mongol general, had his troops encamped around him, protected by a mud rampart. On the evening of October 6 the main body of the Allies bivouacked inside the Mongol lines, the cavalry working round to Yuen Ming Yuen, whence the Court was found

to have fled. It was then that the famous Summer Palace, planned by the Jesuits in imitation of Versailles in the eighteenth century and filled with priceless articles, was thoroughly looted, an inevitable act. On October 7 an ultimatum was placed in the hands of the Chinese Commissioners demanding the immediate return of the prisoners, failing which Peking would be stormed. The next day eight men, including Parkes, were restored ; but later, when a complete count was made, it was found that of twenty-six British seized thirteen had been barbarously murdered, and of thirteen French only five were alive. On the 10th the Allied generals wrote demanding that the north-east gate of the city, the very gate through which the main body of the Manchu conquerors is said to have poured two hundred years before, must be surrendered by noon of the 13th, failing which they would breach the walls, and not be answerable for the consequences to the civil population. This despatch was not answered, but a few minutes before the hour named the gate was found to be abandoned, the populace having forced the authorities to surrender.

The inviolate city had abdicated its proud position.

After this events took a normal course. The discussion which arose over the punishment to be meted out for the murder of the prisoners, however, disclosed narrow views, destined to have far-reaching political consequences. The French Com-



THE REMAINS OF THE YUEN MING YUEN SUMMER PALACE, AFTER SIXTY-SIX YEARS.

missioners were in favour of destroying the Imperial palaces in Peking if any destruction was to be done ; but the British demurred, fearing that this would have the effect of levelling the remaining cadre of government and end all possibility of the treaties being signed. The burning of the Yuen Ming Yuen was then agreed to and carried out by British troops. For days the smoke of the doomed buildings hung like a pall on the skies, proclaiming the vengeance of the men of the sea. Yet it was a mistaken vengeance. The boldness of the Russian plenipotentiary was far better, for he obtained a little later the cession of the Manchurian Pacific province, partly for what he alleged he had done in hastening evacuation. Had England and France demanded the cession of their two coast bases—Talienwan and Chefoo—which they already occupied, all history would have been different. The burning of the Summer Palace necessitated the building of another and costlier abode, and this was only accomplished by sequestrating funds subsequently collected for a Chinese navy, the faulty condition of which a generation later destroyed China's resistance to Japan. England and France by their action had, in any case, abated Chinese sovereignty so perceptibly that a guardianship of the coast had become inevitable. This was soon to be disclosed in many speaking ways. But it required a greater vision than the men of the day possessed to peer into the future or to understand the implications of the moral destruction which they had wrought.

On October 24, guarded by strong escorts, the British plenipotentiary entered the capital ceremonially and signed the Convention of Peking at the Board of Rites. The next day this was repeated by the French, ratification being rendered unnecessary by Prince Kung, the Emperor's brother, affixing the Imperial seal to all the treaties.

Amongst other things Tientsin was now opened to the commerce of the world, a point which should have been dealt with in 1858.

§ 18

Such was the way in which the great humiliation fell on the Manchu capital after many glorious years. The distraught Emperor Hsien Feng—seventh of his House—had fled from the Yuen Ming Yuen to the mountain palace of Jehol where, seventy years before, his grandfather, Ch'ien Lung, had received Lord Macartney and delighted him with his courtesies. In seventy years everything had changed; the magnificence of the eighteenth century had been exchanged for the catastrophes and enforced contracts of the nineteenth. From now on—for ever—under the shadow of the Dynastic Gate, the representatives of nations that should be tributary, unless Chinese cosmogony was a lie, had their seats on a basis of equality.

Hsien Feng showed his dislike to the new arrangement in more ways than by absenting himself from the capital. He collected round his

person the most bigoted men of the Imperial clan, who constantly meditated the recovery of what they considered their inalienable rights. No respect for treaties would restrain them from reasserting, as soon as they believed they had the power, the claims which the Emperor had surrendered. Prince Kung, his brother, continued to exercise the power and practise conciliation ; the utmost that Hsien Feng would do was to listen to all the information he could procure about the English and their country, a study from which he rose with the constant exclamation, " They are always at war, or preparing to go to war with some one ".

At last came rumours of the Emperor's illness. It was given out in a curious document that his doctors had declared his case to be hopeless. A comet appearing in the sky was visible for several weeks, strengthening the belief of the superstitious in a great change. A crisis was coming, not merely because Hsien Feng was dying, but because he had left the governing authority during the minority of his son, a child of six, to a Board of Regency composed of eight of the least intelligent and most arrogant of the Imperial clan, a consummation which was announced by Imperial decree immediately after his death.

At Peking the routine of government continued to be carried out by Prince Kung. That statesman employed the interval in arranging his own plan of action, and in making sure of the fidelity of a certain number of troops. At Jehol the Board of Regency

could do little harm ; but once its pretensions and legality were admitted at the capital, the question of peace or war with foreign states would again arise.

On the 1st of November 1861 the child Emperor entered the capital in state—almost a year after the Allied armies had evacuated it. He was driven through the streets in a carriage, with the Empress, the principal widow of Hsien Feng, and the second Empress Tsi An, destined to become world-famous in later years as the Empress Dowager, occupying seats in the same carriage. A large number of soldiers, still dressed in white mourning, accompanied the new sovereign from Jehol. The majority of the Regents had also arrived ; those who had not yet come were on the road escorting the dead body of Hsien Feng towards its final resting-place. If a blow was to be struck at all, it was necessary to strike quickly.

Prince Kung had secretly succeeded in obtaining the assistance and co-operation of the Empresses before their arrival in Peking, and it now only remained to carry out the *coup*. On the day following the entry Prince Kung hastened to the palace, and produced before the astonished Regents an Imperial edict ordering their dismissal ; he asked them whether they obeyed the decree or whether he must call in soldiers. They had no choice but to signify their acquiescence ; later they were arrested, and degraded for contumacy.

This important *coup d'état* was announced in an edict which has much historical interest :

The Princes, Nobles, and Officers of the Empire are hereby to learn that the disquiet of the sea-coast last year and the alarm of the capital were caused wholly by the vicious policy of the Princes and Ministers engaged in the matter. Being without other device for the extinction of their responsibility, they could propose nothing but that the English Envoys should be decoyed into their power and made prisoners, a breach of faith towards the foreign nations. Yet more, when Yuen Ming Yuen was ruined and His late Majesty, our Emperor, in consequence, had taken a journey to Jehol, the mind of the Sacred One was sore troubled that he was reduced to such extremity ; and when in due time the Prince and Ministers, charged with the general administration of foreign affairs, had well arranged all foreign questions that required settlement, and its usual tranquillity was restored to the capital, within and without the walls, His Majesty again and again called on the Court to frame a decree announcing his return. The members of the Imperial clan, however, the one abetting the other in deceit, with all their strength kept from him these facts, to which the opinion of all men bore testimony, ever alleging that foreign nations, both in sentiment and demeanour, were always shifting in their policy. His late Majesty, anxious and worn, rested neither by day nor by night. The cold, too, beyond the frontier was severe, and so the indisposition of the Sacred Person increased, until he ascended upon the Dragon to be a guest on high. . . . The Censor Tung Yuen Chun in a memorial has prayed that the Empress Dowager should act as a Regent for some years and that when we become competent the government should be surrendered to us. There is no precedent, it is true, in the time of our Dynasty for the Regency of an Empress Dowager, but of the trusts committed to us the most important is to think of nothing

but the policy of the State and the welfare of the people. . . . We commission the Prince Kung, in concert with the members of the Grand Secretariat, the Six Boards, the Nine High Courts, the elders of the Hanlin, and the Censors, to confer together with reference to the forms under which the Empress Dowager is to administer the government and to report to us.

It was in this wise that the petticoat government of the Empresses, first under two, and later under the second and more famous one, acting alone, became established as the last phase of the Manchus.

§ 19

The curiosities of this last phase, which was to endure almost exactly half a century, were without number. The Taiping Rebellion, still pursuing its bloody course in the heart of the Yangtze valley, was in process of being slowly circumscribed and then crushed, with the help of a small foreign-led force, the Ever-Victorious army, created by Ward, an American, and led to its final success by Gordon, who was to die at Khartum. Prince Kung, who had saved the dynasty in 1860 and again in 1861, and perhaps meditated a third stroke to make himself Emperor, was in 1865 degraded by the Empresses and then restored—with his wings clipped. Trade steadily expanded, now that the whole coast was opened and taxation regularly levied on a proper system. Arsenals were built and the army reformed along Western lines.

But the times were out of joint. Following the Taiping Rebellion had come two Mohammedan rebellions, one in the south-west and the other in the north-west, showing that the machinery was inadequate to its task. That the Chinese people would throw themselves into the work of imitating the excellencies of the Western world as the Japanese had done had been the general expectation, but the response of their complex natures had been very different. Massacres and piracies were more their ideal than any imitation; the people had not been touched by the language of the treaties and were secretly encouraged in their contumacy by officials and scholars alike. In the palace intrigue followed intrigue. The Emperor in leading strings was no Emperor at all, although in 1873, when he was seventeen years old and had nominally assumed the reins of office, he had received the foreign representatives in audience—the first time such a thing had happened since the beginning of Chinese history, a degradation of priestly functions which was partially masked by holding the reception in the hall of tributary nations.

In 1875 this Emperor died. The two Empresses, determined to retain power, selected a child four years old for the throne, the ill-fated Kwang Hsü. The death of the elder Empress in 1881 left the Empire completely in the hands of the second Empress, the famous Empress Dowager, Tsi An, who tolerated no interference and whose views were always strictly personal. The problem

of border states, Siam, Tonkin, Burma, and Korea, which might have been solved had there been a vigorous sovereign, became the undoing of the Throne in a woman's hands. Siam denounced Chinese suzerainty in 1882, and the elephants which she had sent as tribute for nigh upon a thousand years were sent no more, her official relations with Peking being interrupted even to-day. France, involved in war over Tonkin, annexed it in 1884; England assumed sovereignty in Burma two years later. The pallid Kwang Hsü, when he was given nominal power in 1889, had before him the fateful and far-reaching struggle with Japan over the question of Korea, a struggle which had been rendered inevitable in 1882 when the Western Powers, led by America, insisted on the opening of the country, thereby bringing China and Japan face to face and enforcing China's admission by treaty in 1885 that Japan's rights were on an equality with hers.

The last hours were indeed approaching, although this should never have been the case; the sea was still misunderstood and its mighty message unheeded. Attempts had been made, it is true, to do something, but the efforts were mechanical and the spirit of reality was not behind them. As early as 1862, less than two years after the Yuen Ming Yuen palace had gone up in smoke, a fleet had been purchased in England and brought out. But Lay, Chief of the Customs, in whose hands the matter had been placed, was the same man who

had been interpreter in 1858 at the Tientsin negotiations and whose satanic inspiration had forced through the article which had provided for permanent Legations in Peking. He was now filled with the same iron purpose to make the state unitary in its armaments, and declined to allow the fleet to enter the Chinese service except under the direct orders of the Emperor, while the purpose of the Court was to use it as a mercenary squadron under provincial viceroys, just as war-junks and fire-rafts had formerly been used. The dispute ended in the fleet being sold up ; and although new vessels were subsequently obtained, true knowledge of the sea had made so little progress that in the war with France Chinese vessels were as rapidly routed as had been the armed shipping of the Canton monopoly days.

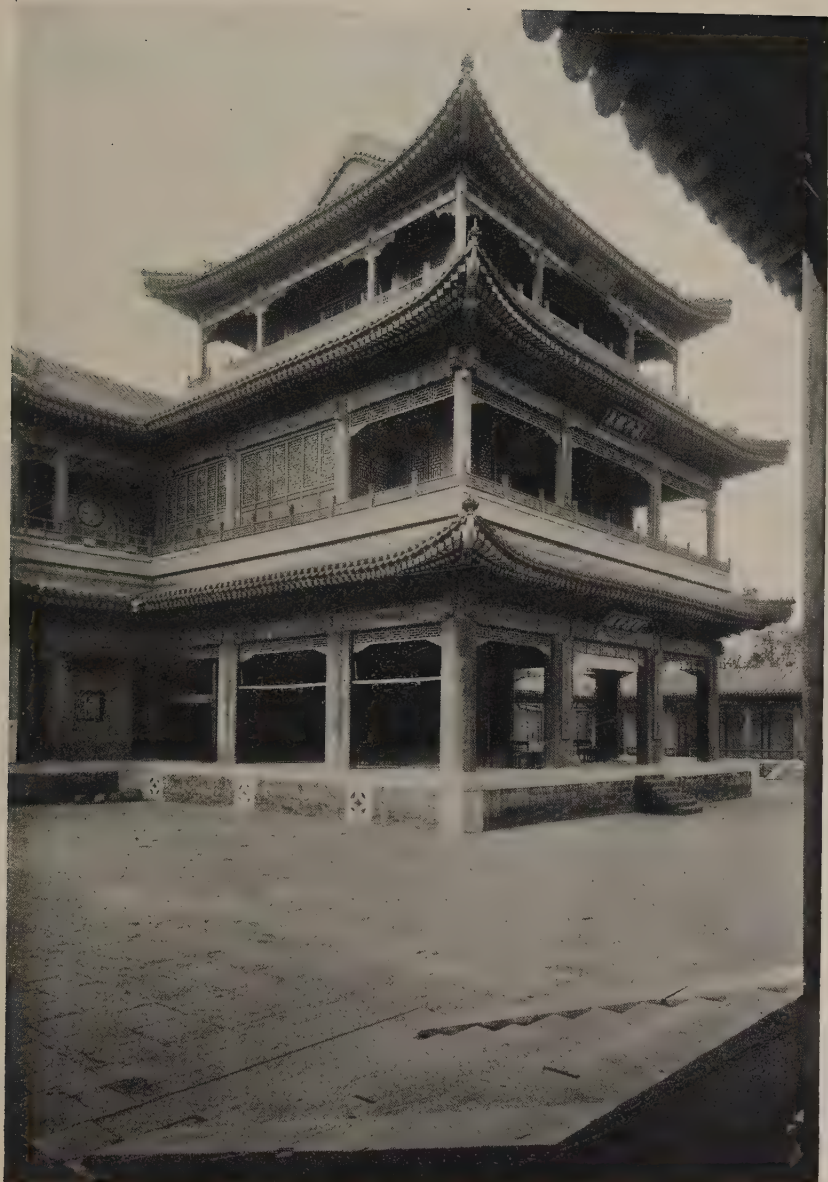
A fresh effort after this war had, however, brought the beginning of a navy. The regular collections from the trade of the treaty ports provided ample funds ; and in 1894 two battleships and a fleet of cruisers and torpedo-boats should have given predominance in the China Sea. But the Empress Dowager was spending fresh millions on the new Summer Palace ; much of the funds allotted for shot and shell and military education had been swallowed up in marble terraces and peerless pavilions. Fortresses there were, both at Port Arthur and Weihaiwei, Port Arthur alone having had six millions sterling spent on it ; but the heavy guns were practically without

ammunition and there was no co-ordination between army and navy.

So the war with Japan was like every other war China had fought with modern arms, a tale of disaster. The fleet which could have kept her shores inviolate, no matter what the army did, was half lost at the first action at the Yalu. Then Port Arthur was surrendered with more rifle and field-gun ammunition than the entire Japanese army possessed; and at Weihaiwei the Chinese navy ended its existence. When 100,000 Japanese troops were ready to advance on Peking the Court took panic; and falling back once more on diplomacy, commenced that series of remarkable moves which might not have been ultimately disastrous had the game been played through to the end with care.

§ 20

The problem before the Throne was indeed more susceptible of solution in 1895 than it had been in 1860. The act which had placed the Legations in Peking had been a partial transfer of sovereignty. The nations, being wedded to their privileges, would not lightly surrender any part of them without a great struggle. The European Concert was still a real phrase, and the vast China market still allowed of unlimited expansion. The emergence of Japan as a spoliator, therefore, offered the Court an easy defence. While Russia appeared as the principal spokesman, what she said



A MASTERPIECE OF CHINESE ARCHITECTURE.

The Theatre at the New Summer Palace erected by the famous Empress Dowager, showing the strong Persian influences which dominated the last centuries of the Imperial age.

had not only the open support of France and Germany but the tacit support of the others as well.

Japan had not only used her victory to settle once and for all the question of Korea, but had adopted the idea of a buffer territory between China and Korea. The cession of the Liaotung Peninsula—embracing all the territory between the Yalu and the Liao rivers—meant, however, that direct access to ice-free Chinese harbours was to be denied for ever to the region of the Amur, a serious position for any nation to assume if not prepared for war with Russia. Japan was not yet prepared; and so when the advice was tendered her not to disturb the balance of the Far East in such a way, she retreated a step and cancelled the clause. The monetary indemnity, increased by this retrocession, provided her with the very funds she needed for something stronger than armaments,—her banking and currency system, which was now thoroughly modernized, thus transferring to her the strength which should have been China's, and allowing her to build so solidly that the foundation became well-nigh indestructible.

For Li Hung Chang, the great Viceroy who had so largely eclipsed Prince Kung in the conduct of foreign policy from the moment (1870) he had been appointed to the gateway of Peking—Tientsin—, this period represented the second phase of activities which were necessarily disastrous because they were still mechanical and fragmentary and not based on

any true assimilation of the spirit and purpose of the West. During the quarter of a century prior to the Japanese War, Li Hung Chang had been engaged as the mandatory of the Empress Dowager in building up a fleet, an army, and a system of fortresses for the protection of the Court which had cost \$250,000,000. A man of wide vision, who had been closely associated with Gordon in crushing the Taiping rebels, he had had sufficient practical experience to realize that only by uniting Western instrumentalities with the Chinese theory of administration would it be possible to stem the rising tide. He had to harmonize this with a government which had not really changed its point of view, and which still looked upon everything foreign as derogatory to a majesty resting on such mighty and irrefutable dogma that its beliefs vindicated themselves. What he did, therefore, was extraneous to, and not directly related to, the fundamental prerogatives of the Throne. He was "the guardian of the Northern Seas" (*Pei Yang ta-ch'ên*), a wardenry farmed out to him because as Tientsin Viceroy he was in contact with the men of the sea and could borrow their methods; but his enterprise was essentially mercenary and created not because of moral convictions but because it was calculated to win certain returns.

The first period was the period of arms: the second that of a facile bargaining which counted its victories at the commencement and not at the end, and which never realized that war is simply

the continuation of policy. Li Hung Chang had made his preliminary arrangements with Russia before he signed the Treaty of Shimonoseki which ceded the Liaotung to Japan; and he had been able to assure his Imperial mistress in advance that nothing would be lost. But his bargaining was faulty since it was based on the hope that circumstances would arise which would automatically cancel his moral commitments to Russia and leave him free to make more advantageous terms. There had been draft proposals which even to-day are not clearly known. Li Hung Chang certainly never clearly perceived that the Liaotung in Russian hands would be just as menacing as in Japanese hands, and would force a second war which China would indirectly pay for. Sent as Imperial envoy to Russia on the occasion of the marriage celebrations of the Emperor Nicholas in 1896, the year after the Japanese peace, he found in Witte a statesman after his own heart, large-minded, a little cynical, and exceedingly adroit. The question to the fore was the question of payment for what had been done,—with concealment of the price. For Witte, with his practical knowledge of railways, direct communication across Manchuria to Vladivostock and the Russian Far East was the first essential of the new situation; and somewhat to the astonishment of the Chinese Viceroy he centred all his efforts on this single matter, binding his contract with a secret treaty which obliged Russia to come to the rescue of China in any fresh war with Japan.

In doing this he was merely obeying the same irresistible impulse which had animated all Russians from the days when they had first entered the valley of the Amur in their search for "warm water", always advancing when the situation was favourable, always falling back when Chinese pressure became too great.

Li Hung Chang was now working in the dark, just as the Japanese had been working at Shimono-seki. He knew nothing of these matters or of the relations between European Courts. His chief endeavours were centred on securing the Empress Dowager's assent to his secret arrangements, and on strictly defining the Trans-Manchurian Railway as a commercial concession granted to a bank in which China was a shareholder, trivial details in the crucial matter of general policy. The Liaotung and the ice-free ports were left in the background, although the memorandum in his pocket which had been sketched by the Russian plenipotentiary in Peking should have warned him and impelled him to bind Russia very differently.

The German action in entering Kiaochow harbour at the end of the very next year (1897) precipitated matters—for the sovereigns of Germany and Russia had come to a personal arrangement by which Port Arthur and Talienwan were to be added to the rest of the Manchurian enterprise in return for the endorsement of a German colony on Chinese soil. To this the Court of Peking opposed itself so uncompromisingly that in Witte's Memoirs we have

the definite statement that he was forced to pay to Li Hung Chang in Peking the sum of half a million gold roubles, whereupon the Chinese statesman went to the Empress Dowager and won the day.

With Weihaiwei in British hands and Kwang-chow-wan in French, as a *quid pro quo* for what the others had won, the coasts bore ample witness to the fact that China remained defenceless and the sea more the master than ever before.

§ 21

If the people were thoroughly outraged by these transactions there was equal turmoil in the palace. Kwang Hsü, the pallid sovereign who nominally wielded the power, although overshadowed by the Empress Regent, was not yet quite unmanned. The Japanese War had been for him a tragedy and a humiliation ; for Manchuria was still the ancestral home of his race, and its altars had been all but overturned. Now came these fresh proofs that his decrees were valueless and that practical power was in other hands. His tutors, explaining to him the rise and fall of nations, commenced tracing for him a comprehensive programme which would give back all the ancient prestige. Reform was what was wanted, reform in every department, wholesale reform so that the challenge could be fitly met. Reform was indeed in the air. A viceroy of the old school, Chang Chih Tung, who ruled the mid-

Yangtze, had just written a pamphlet, "Learn", which had sold a million copies and had told scholars and officials what the price of their ignorance would be. Kang Yu Wei, the most active Imperial tutor, appeared as a messenger of light when he presented to the Emperor an essay on the reform of Russia under Peter the Great and on the modernization of Japan; his words were listened to. For a hundred days during the summer of 1898 a stream of Imperial decrees published to the nation what it was proposed to do. In the cold light of a later age these reforms seem innocent enough. A national university was to be established in the capital; the princes of the blood and the Imperial clansmen were invited to go abroad and study foreign institutions; schools were to be established in all cities; sinecures were to be abolished; the Emperor and Empress were to proceed to Tientsin by railway to review the new armies; a system of published budgets was to be inaugurated; Western drill was to be taught to a national army based on conscription; a naval academy and training ships were to be instituted. The programme might have been tolerated had it not touched two vital things—the sinecures and the budgets. As it was, it became anathema to the official class. The hoary prerogatives, instituted at the time of the Manchu conquest as the price of official submission, were threatened with extinction.

In the counter-agitation which speedily arose it was not difficult to find a supporter. The Empress

Dowager, now in her sixty-fifth year, had watched with deepening frowns this sudden assumption of power and was preparing to strike. The play turned on the support of the new army which was fast arising. That meant the action of one man, Yuan Shih Kai, a disciple of Li Hung Chang's, who had been the Imperial Resident in Korea at the time of the Japanese War and was now drilling the troops at Tientsin. His support meant success; his opposition failure. The viceroy of the province, Jung Lu, a Manchu clansman, whose relations with the Empress Dowager had been of an intimate character, was in the way. A secret edict issued by the Emperor ordered Yuan Shih Kai to seize and decapitate him, and then to march on Peking. Instead of this Yuan Shih Kai went to him and informed him. Jung Lu immediately entered Peking and communicated the secret edict, and the Empress Dowager struck. The Emperor was seized and imprisoned on the island palace inside the Forbidden City. Savage Mohammedan troops brought down from the north-western province of Kansu garrisoned Peking. A new Imperial decree comforted the officials, and announced that the Empress Dowager, in obedience to countless memorials, had resumed full control over the nation's affairs, which would henceforth be carried on in the spirit of the past.

All through 1899 there were ominous murmurs. The prerogatives of the office-holders had been restored, but not the confidence of the people.

There were increasing incidents, and constant reports that the village train-bands and the gymnastic societies were drilling, and claiming invulnerability by the use of incantations.

In 1900 the expression "Boxers" was definitely coined to denote the gymnastic societies which were now seeking adherents far and wide. From out of the remote interior fear suddenly rushed to the coasts, a great fear. All the trials and tribulations of sixty years, all the humiliations which the sea had brought, all the weaknesses and evasions of the Court, had solidified into a massive, uncontrollable psychosis. The Earth-god had risen in his wrath and there was blood on the angry sky ! Marching as in ancient days to an ominous drumming, the sword- and spear-armed cultivators covered the countryside and entered the cities with terrible cries. Everything foreign was going—the dynasty as well as the red-haired barbarians. But every government has reserve powers which it can use when *in extremis* ; and as the Manchus now feared for their lives they deflected the storm. It fell on the heads of foreigners alone as a national movement to terminate once and for all their dominion. All North China was wrapped in gloom. The zealots tore up the railways, and massacred far and wide. High officials seconded their efforts, and the terrible story of the fate of hundreds has not yet been forgotten. Then the movement fell into the trough of complications and was itself overwhelmed.

For counter-action had quickly come, and the Earth-god was no longer supreme. The Taku forts had been captured once again. Eight nations were hastening troops and sailors, eight maritime Powers had entered the field. No matter who might perish there could be only one judgement.

The Court, understanding at last that the reckoning would be a harsh one, temporized as best it could; it had at least saved the Legations from massacre at the hands of its own troops, and frantically it claimed immunity. But when after two lurid months the sound of heavy guns announced on an August night that another foreign army was at the gates of Peking, the Empress Dowager put on old clothes, tore the Emperor from his island prison, and seated with him in a plebeian covered cart stole out of the Imperial City to the passes as she had done forty years before—going this time to Hsianfu,—Hsianfu, which, hidden behind a screen of mountains, had not sheltered the Throne for 1300 years, but still held the simulacra of power.

§ 22

An empty capital, and tens of thousands of marauding foreign troops, belonging to eight antagonistic nations temporarily united by a common peril, had been the result of a train of consequences set in motion by the Korean War. A cataclysm such as had never before overwhelmed the country from the remotest times had descended on the

dynasty; and there was hardly one circumstance in its favour. Where to begin; how to build from such a starting-point? The fugitive Empress Dowager and the Court might be safe, seven hundred miles away in the mountains; but the title seemed for ever attainted.

Yet the official class, as in 1898, quickly came to the realization that their interests were bound up with the interests of the Throne, and that this overwhelming disaster was their bitterness as much as the bitterness of the Imperial family. That sense of caution which is paramount in the race had caused the viceroys of the Yangtsze valley and of the South to delay throwing in their lot with Boxerism: three-quarters of the country had been kept practically immune; and this saving fact, placed in the foreground, became the chief argument against partition.

If it took thirteen months of anger and despair to produce the Peace Protocol of 1901, in the circumstances a Convention of any sort was a *tour de force*. Punishment of the guilty princes and high officials was easy to arrange, since China has always thrown her failures to the dogs; but the indemnity, destined to penalize the guilty and the innocent alike by a direct levy to be continued for thirty-nine years, was beyond the financial capacity of the country, and was instinctively recognized as the fatal blow. Like the article in the Tientsin Treaty which had enforced diplomatic residence in the capital, it was to split open the

belly of the people, and make them conscious in a new sense that they were no longer ruled as of yore. It was consented to in the end, as a beaten man consents to a death sentence when he sees the prospect of a reprieve ; as was the erection of a fortified diplomatic quarter with a chain of 12,000 guards keeping the road open to the sea.

From now on the Manchu House, clutching tightly their reprieve, present the appearance of distraught persons. The Empress Dowager, returning with the captive Kwang Hsü, and reversing her previous policy, feverishly inaugurated reforms and tried to ingratiate herself by surrounding herself with liberal-minded men instead of reactionaries. But the reforms were not conceived as they should have been, after much patient study and exhaustive comparison ; they were spasmodic, petulant, dangerous. In 1904 the whole system of classical examinations was abandoned after an uninterrupted history of thirteen centuries, a step equivalent to disrating the Civil Service on which the administration depended. Nothing was put in its place, except so-called New Learning, a vague and doubtful thing, which had not been systematized but was supposed to reveal the secret of Western pre-eminence. Trunk railways were authorized, setting in motion swift new currents with no knowledge where those currents would lead ; army reform was planned on a large scale under the guidance of Yuan Shih Kai, who had stood like a rock as governor of Shantung (the home of the

Boxers) through the whole trouble and was now promoted to the Tientsin Viceroyalty as his reward. A Parliament was even promised before the question of a Constitution had been considered, or its menace to an old society understood. But the Manchu military organization, the Eight Banners, were left untouched, with their useless tradition of bows and arrows, when they should have been forged into artillery and machine-gun corps able at least to safeguard the Throne—surely an error such as no hereditary rulership has ever made before. Nor did the Empress Dowager reform her heart; perhaps there had been too much history for that.

For there was history in the making in every quarter from the moment of her return. In 1902 England concluded her first alliance with Japan. The Russian War, delayed from 1895 so that Japan might gather strength, after a long wrangle in 1902 and 1903, had broken out in 1904. Its lurid light, reflected from the gulf of Pechili to the skies of Peking, showed where the might of Empire lay. When it was over in 1905 and had imposed new sanctions in Manchuria, the old Empress, casting round for the last time for the elixir which would give the country new life, applied to Sir Robert Hart, who for nearly fifty years had so ably managed the new Customs. He replied in an elaborate memorial that reform in taxation could alone bring salvation. If the land-tax were handed over to him a new State could be made real by honest collection. By centralizing and imperializing this revenue and

then disbursing it directly to the new armies, the new schools, and the new squadrons, new life would be breathed into the body-politic and national contentment would result. The proposal, referred to the high provincial officials for discussion, was bitterly opposed. It touched the hoary prerogatives. There was such an ominous concluding note in some of the replies that it was weakly dropped, and the last chance was lost.

Three years passed, and in 1908 the Empress Dowager, now nearly seventy-five years old, commenced weakening. She had conceded Provincial Assemblies to the provinces the previous year and now inaugurated a nine-year period of preparation for a national Parliament, proof indeed that her hold on the realities was not what it had once been. She was ill at ease, with the sense that the political end was near as well as her own. The whole world became curious to know how her exit would be made, and men were not disappointed. A few hours before she died, Kwang Hsü was made to breathe his last, a tradition declaring that as he passed away he endlessly traced in the air with his fingers a circle, the equivalent in Chinese of the first name of Yuan Shih Kai—his last thought being the decapitation of the man who had betrayed him ten years before.

§ 23

Therefore what followed was epilogue.

A child of three had been named for the Throne

by the dying Empress, one Hsüan Tung. The Regency, placed in the hands of the child's father, was as defective as every regency proves itself in times of stress. With the masterful Dowager gone, there was a scramble among the younger princes to participate in the political game from which the Imperial clan had hitherto been rigidly excluded, thereby introducing a new and dangerous element. Since representation of the people had been promised by the Empress Dowager, an Imperial Senate was conceded by the Regent by edict in 1909. It met for the first time in 1910, its very first debates being remarkable for their boldness and foreshadowing revolution. Hsüan Tung, the tenth Emperor of the Ta-ching or Manchu dynasty, was in the hands of a prince who greatly resembled his defunct brother, Kwang Hsü, in his irresolution. He had not executed Yuan Shih Kai, as his brother had demanded: he had let him quietly flee—to be resurrected from his retirement when the Revolution broke out as the undertaker of the dynasty. The Senate having vociferously demanded a responsible Cabinet, in May 1911 the Grand Council and the Grand Secretariat, which contained wise old men knowing the dangers of haste, were weakly abolished, and a Cabinet of Ministers substituted, a change which threw the official system of the country into further disorder. The younger princes, scrambling for power like schoolboys, were placed at the head of the re-labelled Ministries and deepened the popular anger. The new financial commissioners,

who had been sent to the provinces in an effort to centralize the finances, did nothing but weaken the power of the viceroys ; throughout the country the coming revolt was blindly assisted in every possible way. A great foreign currency loan contract, which might have done much to commit the Powers to a policy favourable to the dynasty, was entered into ; but it was too late and was beaten by the Revolution.

For the Revolution was already there. Commencing its first open mutterings in the autumn of 1911 in Szechuan, the distant and mountainous south-western province which possesses a population greater than the population of France, because the nationalization of the projected railway which was to connect it with the mid-Yangtsze was genuinely opposed by the people who had already collected large sums for its construction, it quickly won a preliminary success. Then in Hankow the garrison suddenly revolted after some plotters had been executed on October 10. Almost at once the weak viceroy fled. Propaganda soon filled the country, an intensive anti-Manchu propaganda. The movement spread down the Yangtsze valley like wildfire, and five-barred Republican flags began to appear. In Hsianfu, which had sheltered the Empress Dowager after her flight in 1900, the population brutally murdered the entire Manchu Banner garrison, the famous cadre that had once conquered the country having so forgotten its tradition that the men were unable to saddle their own horses so as to fight or flee. The students, who had returned

from abroad, filled the Press with the story of the crimes of the Manchus and demanded their complete elimination, thus applying a new spur to mass psychology, a spur which has ever since torn the flanks of the people.

Yet the rebellion was fundamentally an unimportant movement which owed its strength to the weakness of the Throne, and to its sudden concessions when resolution was essential. The distraught Regent, having no plan and no machinery to cope with the storm, soon summoned back Yuan Shih Kai, hoping to rally the new armies which the former viceroy had created and which were already doubtful in their allegiance. Yuan Shih Kai, still uncertain regarding his ultimate rôle, quickly brought about military results; for the revolt was like the Taiping Rebellion, an affair of passion and propaganda and national discontent, and not yet based on any abiding conviction that a change must be made. But he stayed his hand after capturing the entire Hankow region, when the rebel army was in full flight, and secretly ordered the Imperialist troops to retire from Nanking so as to strengthen the *de facto* dictatorship he had inaugurated by concentrating the entire military and administrative machinery under the roof of his own office from the moment he was brought back to power. When a proposal for an armistice was made in December, which was supported by English influences, he accepted it, enigmatically allowing the beaten side to dictate terms as there

was no one to control him in Peking, the Regent having memorialized the Throne and retired on December 6.

On every side there were incredible things—all the stigmata of administrative collapse. Sun Yat Sen, a professional revolutionist who had invented the T'ung-mêng hui, or Sworn Brotherhood, and had been absent in Europe when the outbreak came, had hastened back and installed himself at Nanking from the beginning of 1912 as Provisional President of a dream Republic, invoking in a proclamation the Nestorian monument and the book of Marco Polo as evidence that in early days the Chinese were liberal and that only the Manchu regime had been exclusive. His bold leap had caused the abandonment of the revolutionary calendar which had been dated year 4609 from Huang-ti, the first fabulous emperor of the Chinese, but now became Year One in imitation of the Revolution of the French. A Provisional Constitution, rapidly copied from European text-books, was proclaimed as the basis of China's future rulership, placing political power entirely in the hands of a popular assembly. Yet these things were like the rebel armies, imaginary irrelevant things, the Barmecide feast which Asia is for ever spreading before its sons. The real thing was that foreign sympathy was in favour of the Republic—particularly British sympathy, a strange and astounding phenomenon, since the projected commercial Republic, based on mercantile relations,

was a form of delusion such as only a Bakunin or some other apostle of anarchy could have suggested. The diplomatic body in Peking, concerned only about neutrality and forgetting to whom its Letters of Credence were addressed, in its haste to be impartial passed on January 26 a series of resolutions regarding the railway from Peking to the sea, which by the Peace Protocol of 1901 was under its guardianship. The second article stated unequivocally "that both Chinese Imperial and Revolutionist troops are at liberty to utilize the railway line and adjoining piers and wharfage for the purposes of transportation, landing, or embarkation, and will not be interfered with". This discloses a curious change from the time of the Taiping Rebellion, when it was more sanely recognized that anarchy in the State would ultimately destroy the foreign interest as well as the Chinese people, and supplies the real reason why the railways, after fifteen years of the Republic, have commercially almost ceased to exist.

It was now clear that the Manchu dynasty was to give birth to government by commission under the name of Republic. Foreign money was the only thing which could have prevented it, since the Treasury was empty and no revenue flowing in; but although a preliminary contract had been made by international financiers and an edict issued ratifying it, it was opposed by the whole force of diplomacy. With no money forthcoming, and Yuan Shih Kai concerned only about retaining

his own power, a National Convention to decide the national destinies never got farther than a paper proposal. Like the nineteen articles which the Northern army had demanded from the Throne, and the later telegraphic memorial of all the generals asking for peace, it was part of the general picture of the disarray of the Chinese State, a disarray which would become greater and greater as the ancient cosmogony perished. Woman-like, the Empress Lung Yü, widow of the Emperor Kwang Hsü, essayed at the end of January a last manœuvre. The ex-Regent visited the dictator in person, bearing with him the patent of nobility of a marquess, which, with the one exception of the ducal rank borne by the descendant of Confucius, was the highest honour which could be conferred upon a Chinese. Yuan Shih Kai refused it. It was offered once more and again refused. There was no hope of loyalty.

On February 3 the Throne in open despair sealed a secret edict giving full power to Yuan Shih Kai to make arrangements regarding surrender. The Manchus, unable to cope with the storm when the foreign Powers were against them, were publicly beaten : abdication took place after four months of vain struggles.

§ 24

The abdication edicts, issued on February 12, are historically highly interesting because they reveal how the Chinese kingship perished, and how

difficult a written expression of its peculiar nature necessarily is.

They were three in number, so that certain separate aspects of the overlordship might remain clear, and the undiminished power to decree retained to the end. Only the first two need be quoted, since the third is an exhortation to loyal officials, and particularly to the Manchu population, to abide by the decision of the Throne. Keeping carefully in mind family law and the patriarchal aspect, the child Emperor issues them as commands received from the Empress Lung Yü, widow of Kwang Hsü, for transmission to the people. The first runs :

We (the Emperor) have respectfully received the following Imperial Edict from Her Imperial Majesty the Empress Dowager Lung Yü :

As a consequence of the uprising of the Republican Army, to which the different provinces immediately responded, the Empire seethed like a boiling cauldron and the people were plunged into utter misery. Yuan Shih Kai was, therefore, especially commanded some time ago to despatch commissioners to confer with the representatives of the Republican Army on the general situation and to discuss matters pertaining to the convening of a National Assembly for the decision of the form of government to be adopted. Two months have elapsed and no really suitable mode of settlement has been discovered. Separated as the South and the North are by great distances, the unwillingness of either side to yield to the other can result only in the continued interruption of trade and the prolongation of hostilities, for, so long as the form of government is undecided, the Nation can have no peace.

It is now evident that the hearts of the majority of the people are in favour of a republican form of government : the provinces of the South were the first to espouse the cause, and the generals of the North have since pledged their support. From the preference of the people's hearts, the Will of Heaven can be discerned. How could We then bear to oppose the will of the millions for the glory of one Family ! Therefore, observing the tendencies of the age on the one hand, and studying the opinions of the people on the other, We and His Majesty the Emperor hereby vest the sovereignty in the people and decide in favour of a republican form of constitutional government. Thus We would gratify on the one hand the desires of the whole nation who, tired of anarchy, are desirous of peace, and on the other hand would follow in the footsteps of the Ancient Sages, who regarded the Throne as the sacred trust of the Nation.

Now Yuan Shih Kai was elected by the Senate to be the Premier. During this period of transference of government from the old to the new, there should be some means of uniting the South and the North. Let Yuan Shih Kai organize with full powers a provisional republican government and confer with the Republican Army as to the methods of union, thus assuring peace to the people and tranquillity to the Empire, and forming the one Great Republic of China by the union as heretofore of the five peoples, namely Manchus, Chinese, Mongols, Moham-medans, and Tibetans, together with their territory in its integrity. We and His Majesty the Emperor, thus enabled to live in retirement, free from responsibilities and cares and passing the time in ease and comfort, shall enjoy without interruption the courteous treatment of the Nation and see with Our own eyes the consummation of an illustrious government. Is not this highly advisable ?

The second edict, which contains the phrases declaring the actual abdication, runs as follows :

On account of the perilous situation of the State and the intense sufferings of the people, We some time ago commanded the Cabinet to negotiate with the Republican Army the terms for the courteous treatment of the Imperial House, with a view to a peaceful settlement. According to the memorial now submitted to Us by the Cabinet embodying the articles of courteous treatment proposed by the Republican Army, they undertake to hold themselves responsible for the perpetual offering of sacrifices before the Imperial Ancestral Temples and the Imperial Mausolea and the completion as planned of the Mausoleum of His Late Majesty the Emperor Kwang Hsü. His Majesty the Emperor is understood to resign only his political power, while the Imperial Title is not abolished. There have also been concluded eight articles for the courteous treatment of the Imperial House, four articles for the favourable treatment of the Imperial Kinsmen, and seven articles for the treatment of Manchus, Mongols, Mohammedans, and Tibetans. We find the terms on perusal to be fairly comprehensive. We hereby proclaim to the Imperial Kinsmen and the Manchus, Mongols, Mohammedans, and Tibetans that they should endeavour in the future to fuse and remove all racial differences and prejudices and maintain law and order with united efforts. It is our sincere hope that peace will once more be seen in the country and all the people will enjoy happiness under a republican government.

To these edicts may be appended the so-called terms of honourable treatment—the commitment freely entered into by the representatives of the revolutionary people, and read by none except the

draftsmen, who were as indifferent regarding the sanctions of a hoary past as they were powerless to execute a plan for the future.

ARTICLE 1.—After abdication the Emperor may retain his title and shall receive from the Republic of China the respect due to a foreign sovereign.

ARTICLE 2.—After abdication the Throne shall receive from the Republic of China an annuity of Taels 4,000,000 until the establishment of a new currency, when the sum shall be \$4,000,000 (£400,000 sterling).

ARTICLE 3.—After abdication the Emperor shall for the present be allowed to reside in the Imperial Palace, but shall later remove to the Eho Park (Summer Palace), retaining his bodyguards at the same strength as hitherto.

ARTICLE 4.—After abdication the Emperor shall continue to perform the religious ritual at the Imperial Ancestral Temples and Mausolea, which shall be protected by guards provided by the Republic of China.

ARTICLE 5.—The Mausoleum of the late Emperor not being completed, the work shall be carried out according to the original plans, and the services in connection with the removal of the remains arranged, the expense being borne by the Republic of China.

ARTICLE 6.—All the retinue of the Imperial Household shall be employed as hitherto, but no more eunuchs shall be appointed.

ARTICLE 7.—After abdication all the private property of the Emperor shall be respected and protected by the Republic of China.

ARTICLE 8.—The Imperial Guards will be retained without change in numbers or emolument, but they will be placed under the control of the Department of War of the Republic of China

§ 25

The position created by the abdication was necessarily unique and intensified the turmoil. For the dream Republic at Nanking claimed the moral mandate from the people and the right to decide the terms of a rulership which was, however, in reality in the hands of the man with military power who drew his authority from an Imperial edict.

From the time of the abdication to the time of his death on June 6, 1916, a period of four and a half years, Yuan Shih Kai was engaged in wrestling with this problem and failing. For there was an antinomy which no human being could resolve. The Throne was merely the summit of the Chinese family system and could not truly disappear without the disappearance of the family, the chain of ancestors, the moral code, the whole structure of the corporate life. The cessation of agriculture might as well have been ordered as the cessation of that.

It did not cease—and a headless society was the only result. Yuan Shih Kai, bending his great energy to the task, did by instinct what was in the end publicly suggested—he tried to make China a republic from the outside and a monarchy from the inside. That laughable phrase indeed described the only political way of escape, although it ended in a blind alley.

To convert his post of Provisional President, which Sun Yat Sen handed over to him, into a

permanent one, Yuan Shih Kai allowed a Parliament to assemble in Peking in 1913 and vote the first chapter of the constitution, which covered Presidential elections. But although what a European state¹ did in circumstances somewhat similar should have been thought of, and a first life Presidency written into the constitution as the only possible solution, the point was evaded and the way left open for revolt. Then, as a great foreign loan had been successfully obtained, the Parliament was struck down because the South remained adamant regarding its rights, and the North had nothing to offer but military conquest. The European War, coming suddenly next year, removed the one safeguard, foreign support of the new regime. China, unable to understand what was taking place in the world, failed automatically to resume possession of the German possession of Kiaochow by armed force, thus leaving it to Japan to act, a striking illustration of her political incompetence. So it happened that Japan, believing that the disruption would facilitate the blow, tried in 1915 with her famous Twenty-one Demands to establish an effective suzerainty. The failure she made was a proof of her caution rather than of her incompetence; for had she risked everything and ordered a general mobilization, what the Manchus had done in 1644 might easily have been repeated. Yuan Shih Kai, believing from this that the Throne was still worth having, determined to mount it; and after an

¹ Czecho-Slovakia.

elaborate attempt to propagandize the country and purchase military support, had it announced in December 1915 that by unanimous vote of an electoral college he had been chosen Emperor. When many of his generals deserted him, he too hesitated and tried to go back ; but the strain and discredit were intolerable, causing him to collapse unexpectedly on June 6, 1916.

The country was now publicly surrendered to the generals : theirs was the mandate and the power. A phantom Presidency maintained in Peking was merely a symbol of the impossible thing Sun Yat Sen had done at Nanking, the occupant being changed five times in eight years. The process was varied by a mock Manchu restoration in 1917 which lasted twelve days, when a country warrior, Chang Hsün, the selfsame man whom Yuan Shih Kai had induced in 1911 to retire from Nanking so as to let the republicans proclaim themselves, went into the palace at day-break with only 4000 ill-equipped troops and seated the boy Emperor on the Dragon Throne. Eight hours of rambling rifle fire within the confines of the city brought things back to where they had been before—but not without further moral damage.

The warfare which had hitherto been between North and South, and waged inconsequentially with insignificant forces, now became localized round the capital. It attracted vastly increased armies, the three campaigns of 1920, 1922, and 1924, to decide which party should control the

President, being preceded by large mobilizations which impoverished whole provinces. Yet each contest, as things were brought down lower and lower, was fought for more trivial rewards, the *coup d'État* in 1923 which drove out President Li Yuan Hung being actually brought about to secure control of the Peking octroi receipts because they had been a perquisite of the Presidency.

Meanwhile, the armies, tied increasingly to the trunk railways, commenced the final phase in the national break-up by intercepting the daily revenues. The salt revenues, which had been sufficient to provide the sums necessary for the metropolitan administration, soon followed suit and were increasingly sequestered. With these two important sources of income largely gone, there remained nothing but the Customs. But the Customs, already hypothecated for foreign loans and the Boxer indemnity, had by an error of judgement been allowed to carry the load of new domestic loans entered into for local wars. There was no surplus at all.

Thus by 1924 complete poverty stared the capital in the face.

§ 26

It was with this moving spectacle around him that the boy Emperor had grown up. The honourable treatment of four million dollars a year had entirely ceased. The advice of the older clansmen, that he should remain in the strictest privacy, was

not listened to ; having an English tutor, he was encouraged to break with the old tradition and show himself to the outer world. He had not moved to the Summer Palace as had been stipulated—partly because no one had asked him to go, and partly because it seemed safer to have him remain where he could be watched. Each of the leading generals, accusing his rivals of being the cause of national disarray, although that lay in the circumstances and not in any leadership or lack of it, sought daily to improve his armaments and showed indifference to everything else. Foreign nations, abandoning all attempts at amelioration, were entirely quiescent, Japan being the most quiescent of them all. For on top of the abortive plan to establish her suzerainty, she had tried bribery during the last years of the World War. The famous Nishihara loans, running into a hundred million dollars, had become uncollectable, and crippled her colonial and mortgage banks. The constant influx of arms and munitions stored up explosive power, and in 1924 brought about the final act.

Wu Pei Fu, a good fighting general, having his official leader, Tsao Kun, in office as President, deemed the moment propitious to strike at his rival, Chang Tso-lin, as part of his policy of unification by force. The autumn of 1924 saw the fruition of the plan, and the culmination of the spoliation of foreign instrumentalities. The entire rolling-stock of the country was seized, and two hundred thousand men poured into the bottle-neck of Shanhaikwan,

where they were soon locked in a vain struggle with the Manchurian army. Then Feng Yü-hsiang, the Christian General, who had made his first entry into metropolitan politics by assisting to drive out the President in 1923 so that he could seize the octroi receipts, and who was now allied to the Kuomintang revolutionists, suddenly marched back from the mountains above Peking, imprisoned the President, locked up the presidential palace, and drove the boy Emperor and the Imperial family from the Forbidden City. Glad to escape with their lives, they took up residence elsewhere. When suspicions had been lulled, taking advantage of a drive in a motor car, the boy Emperor entered the Legation quarter and asked asylum of the Japanese. Then, when he was no longer watched, he slipped out with a companion, bought a railway ticket, and, unseen and unheralded, vanished as a simple passenger out of the chequered history of Peking to Tientsin—Tientsin, where nearly seventy years before that clause had been written into the treaties which had degraded the Throne from its universal dominion by proclaiming equality and the right of diplomatic residence ; and by degrading it had destroyed it.

BOOK III
THE BATTLE THAT HAS NO END

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October 26, 1925.—The Tariff Conference opened in a formal way to-day. It is four and a half years since it was authorized by the Washington Treaties. After the introductory speeches, the Chinese delegates made the definite statement that they desired complete tariff autonomy—nothing less being acceptable. The Japanese, having no doubt a complete forecast of the Chinese plan through their Intelligence service, made an extremely clever use of their own tariff history. They met the attack half way by proposing that China should have her statutory tariff and make separate conventions with all the Powers, which would allow each nation to arrange suitable levies on its main products and thus escape the perils of a high tariff wall. The British said nothing except that they were sympathetic with Chinese aspirations, and were willing to consider at any moment the matter of autonomy. The Americans clutched at what Washington had laid down, but Washington seemed curiously remote. As the Chinese have already bidden the world to

concede their absolute tariff independence, we are in for a bitter struggle. Although there is a lot of private talk that the Government spokesmen do not represent anybody but themselves, this is not correct. China, ever since the nationalist explosion of last summer, has had a general programme, which is cancellation of all the old treaties ; any one who demands this has the general support of public opinion.

Meanwhile the war clouds are gathering again, this time down at the Yangtze mouth. The Shanghai--Nanking railway is interrupted by troop movement, and apprehension is spreading.

It is felt that the movement is being engineered to overthrow the Government, which is only a *de facto* regime depending on military support.

November 6, 1925.—This afternoon an American colonel, who was out playing golf, stated that he heard guns at a point not more than fifteen miles north-west of the golf course. The firing continued in regular bursts for an hour and more, the salvoes being quite distinguishable. When he was twitted for his imagination, he replied that he had not been in France for two years without having learnt how to judge battery fire, and that he would stake his life on the correctness of the distance—which represented a point just below the strategically important Nankow Pass and the Great Wall. The consensus of opinion is that the firing was the testing of trench-mortars at an old Manchu arms

depot near Peking, and that it was impossible that there should have been a clash between rival generals so close to the capital without arousing panic. This, however, is a country of extraordinary happenings, and there is no such word as impossible in the lexicon of Chinese plotters.

In spite of an inveterate love of gossip, this people can enfold the most dramatic and clamant happenings in the silence of the tomb.

November 8, 1925.—Disastrous things continue to take place for the Chang Tso-lin party as a result of the sudden assault by the province of Chekiang on Shanghai and Nanking. It is very difficult to explain intelligibly why such curious warfare should have become stereotyped under the Republic. But it is a fact that after the fall of every dynasty warring states automatically arise, each old provincial area having an inherited impulse towards autonomy which comes to the surface when the fiction of a controlling Central Government is dissipated.

The Manchurian army, being the best equipped, should have been able to repeat last year the history of the Manchu army of 1644, which conquered China by a mixture of diplomacy and local alliances after the Shanhaikwan passes had been surrendered. The parallel was so exact in November 1924, that the inability properly to exploit the advantage given to the Manchurian leaders by the Christian General's *coup d'État* in Peking will for ever tell against any future attempt. The secret is that no

Chinese leader has a sufficiently broad outlook, or a sufficiently developed staff organization, to do anything but fall on those in his immediate neighbourhood, diplomacy and foreign complications intervening just when the *coup de grâce* should be swiftly administered. A wider perspective and a more decisive power of execution are a modern growth based primarily on the development of mechanical science, which has not yet reached China. Chinese do well when they have thirty years to do anything in—very poorly when they only have thirty days. The addition of the new Bolshevik technique of agitation to the old method of buying over subordinate leaders has added another disconcerting element which destroys solidarity and makes decisive action impossible.

Added to all this is the vice of loving above all things the line of least resistance, and foolishly nurturing the belief that success along such a line makes possible general success. This in a highly summarized form is why China is a political failure.

In 1924 the line of least resistance was down from Tientsin through Shantung to Nanking and Shanghai. The Manchurian spear-head was a foreign legion of White Russians in armoured trains before whom all fled because they were a novelty and because no one had seen armoured trains in Central China. This facile victory made the Manchurian line of communications 1400 miles long by rail, the distance between Paris and Moscow. It was child's play for a rival to chop off 500 miles

by a sudden attack. The problem remains strategically the same as it was in the time of the Three Kingdoms sixteen hundred years ago. Subordinate leaders combine to rid themselves of any challenge which seems overwhelming. It is possible to take the story of the Three Kingdoms and, by substituting the names of the leaders of to-day for those of the princes of that day, to get an exact picture of what has happened during the past three weeks in China. In the Three Kingdoms, the constant successes of Ts'ao-ts'ao, who in the end had gathered a force alleged to have numbered 1,000,000 soldiery along one hundred miles of the Yangtze River, led to combinations against him ending in his defeat. So exact is the parallel to-day that it seems incredible that so many centuries should have elapsed.

The Manchurian party has been foolishly self-confident in occupying merely Nanking and the railways and leaving all the rest in the air. They should have gone on conquering—or retired before they were driven out.

November 9, 1925.—It has become generally known that yesterday evening at dusk a Manchurian cavalry regiment appeared suddenly on the plain at San-ho hsien, twenty-five miles to the east of Peking, and peremptorily ordered the small garrison there to retire. Firing occurred later through some unit, unaware of what had happened, coming along a road and being mistaken for a hostile attack.

Although there were no casualties, this news aroused great emotion among the leaders of the so-called Citizens' armies who carried out the *coup d'État* of last year and who still hold Peking.

After a long debate they decided to telegraph their leader, the Christian General, for a reinforcement of two divisions, making at the same time a public announcement that any rival troops coming inside a thirteen-mile perimeter would be opposed by force.

At the very hour when this was taking place below the horizon-line, the entire foreign community of the capital was inspecting the Winter Palace. Parts of the palace which had never been visited before were thrown open by the Commission which had been busy listing the valuables ever since the young ex-Emperor was driven away last year. The inspection was no doubt deliberately contrived so as to discredit the fable that the palace had been looted of all its valuables by the adherents of the Christian General. There was evidence that there had been no looting, but that on the contrary great care had been taken to prevent the removal of historic pieces.

The march through these deserted halls, with sentries of the Citizens' armies standing at their doors, was a complex of emotions. The very names of the apartments have a wistful note, and were more impressive than the quilted armour and golden helmets of the great Emperor Ch'ien Lung. There was "the west warm room", which was the bedchamber of the Emperors of the Ming dynasty,

in which was held in the sixtieth year of the reign of the Manchu Emperor K'ang Hsi and in the fiftieth year of Ch'ien Lung the famous feast of the thousand old men. In another hall of the Manchu Empresses there was an Altar of Heaven where religious dances were held. At one end of the room were cloth dolls and portraits of the gods to whom sacrifices were made; on the wall large sacks, called children's sacks, in which were hidden the lucky locks of boys and girls, the Manchu custom requiring children to wear locks till their marriage. The official catalogue, printed in English, not knowing that it was spilling out pure and amazing romance, remarked unemotionally: "There are also bronze bells, musical wooden boards, cloth curtains, all to be used by dancing witches." This is Shamanism, the religion of the desert and the forest, a primitive worship springing from loneliness and fear which the Manchus carried with them into the palace in the seventeenth century.

The collection of paintings was priceless, and there were wonderful carved blocks of jade weighing several tons. It was interesting to watch the Japanese studying elaborate illustrated books in long glass cases showing the birthday celebrations of the famous old Empress Dowager. The fall of the Empire in China has destroyed Japan's first line of defence against a whole set of factors which cannot now be held in check. The expressions on their faces might be held a kind of forecast of what American expressions will be when the Tower of

London and Windsor Castle are the last monuments of old English origins. By a sardonic touch a big photograph of the former English tutor of the young Emperor, standing with the American girl teacher of the Empress, both dressed in Manchu costume, was so placed in a locked room that it could be seen through a window, a deliberately contrived advertisement that Chinese radicalism has these two nationalities under observation.

At last the Imperial garden with gnarled trees that must have looked down on countless emotions. Jealousies must have been bred here and fierce revenges, for hundreds of women were mewed up in the neighbouring pavilions ; and the sovereigns had the power of life and death.

The vast courtyards and the buildings retain an ineradicable atmosphere of kingship in their majesty and repose, and made an immense impression on every one.

November 11, 1925.—Armistice Day has been celebrated with the news that the Manchurian army is at Tungchow, fourteen miles from Peking. The outposts of the rival forces are entrenching.

It is now declared that the gunfire heard on Friday November 6 was the repulse of an attempted Manchurian *coup de main* on the Kalgan railway, the advance being spotted and heavy firing occurring.

This is the reason why the Nankow Pass has been suddenly closed to all tourists.

The American colonel was right after all.

November 13, 1925.—A peace mandate has appeared ordering all rival troops which have moved into the metropolitan area to return to their original stations. The day has long passed since mandates of a general character had any force. The issue will be decided by bargaining and betrayals between the generals, and not by exhortations. But the mandate would not have been published had not something taken place behind the scenes. It is believed by those in touch with the wire-pullers that Japan has made a series of confidential communications to the various leaders—particularly to the Manchurian leaders. She has got wind of a military trap, not a hard thing for her to do. It is increasingly rumoured in the yamens that there is a concerted movement under way to snap off the head of the Manchurian army which is inside the Great Wall by an encircling movement which will destroy for ever Chang Tso-lin's power.

It is in such an atmosphere, and with such intrigues proceeding, that what may be called the sub-movement of Chinese nationalism, expressed in a demand for cancellation of all foreign treaties, still keeps driving on.

November 14, 1925.—The news of the hour is sensational because there is more behind it than any one can yet measure. Chang Tso-lin sent his son to Tientsin to take charge of immediate military operations, and the result is that after a long council of war at the military governor's yamen

the Manchurian army is retiring. Why? Because the combination against it is too strong, and because an agent who has been to Japan made an important communication. All the movement of troops converging on Peking is not only ceasing but flowing back.

The position at this hour can be summed up as follows. The Christian General is exactly where he was before. Two Yangtsze provinces are lost to the Manchurian army, together with one railway and half of another. A doubtful position in two other provinces. Except that he is nominally stronger in his own home territory, since he is in possession of all the passes of the Great Wall beyond the Peking plain and a broad 100-mile glacis on the Pechili coast, Chang Tso-lin is back to where he was fourteen months ago.

It has all come, too, with no fighting worth speaking of. It shows the deplorable *moral* of the armies.

November 18, 1925.—The Tariff Conference, which has been drumming along in a mild fashion in committee rooms, is also having a crisis. The cry for tariff autonomy as the strongest expression of the new nationalism has to be seriously considered in view of the serious failures of diplomacy all last summer. The sub-committee appointed to draw up a formula on autonomy and the abolition of internal taxes (*likin*) met yesterday and reached complete agreement, according to an official *communiqué*.

The formula adopted was as follows :

The delegates of the Powers assembled at this Conference resolve to adopt the following proposed article relating to tariff autonomy with a view to incorporating it, together with other matters, to be hereafter agreed upon, in a treaty which is to be signed at this Conference :

The Contracting Powers other than China hereby recognize China's right to enjoy tariff autonomy ; agree to remove the tariff restrictions which are contained in existing treaties between themselves respectively and China ; and consent to the going into effect of the Chinese National Tariff Law on January 1, 1929.

The Government of the Republic of China declares that likin shall be abolished simultaneously with the enforcement of the Chinese National Tariff Law ; and further declares that the abolition of likin shall be effectively carried out by the First Day of the First Month of the Eighteenth Year of the Republic of China (January 1, 1929).

In plain language it means that three years are given for China to work out a scheme which will shift internal trade taxation from a barrier system to something equivalent to the Canadian Sales Tax, to be called Consumption Tax. This will put a new tax office in every town and village of the Republic and give the struggle between the people and the tax-collectors (which is the essence of government in this country) a slightly changed alignment. The clear gain will be that the treaty ports will trade with one another without the present Customs control, which may cause them to enjoy

for a generation or two something of the former glory of the cities of the Hanseatic League. It is not improbable that the final result of so-called tariff autonomy will be a great access of foreign strength and a decay of Chinese institutions, owing to the native inability to tackle gigantic economic problems demanding a sound currency and honest accounting, as well as freedom from civil war.

Soviet Russia is expected to be in action again by next week, as the ambassador Karakhan is hurrying back from home leave. The position of Marshal Tuan, the provisional Chief Executive, is so insecure that he has telegraphed for the mainstay of his Anfu party, a genial soldier of the new Republican order, called "little Hsu", who has been touring the world as High Commissioner to keep him out of mischief. His last departure from Peking two years ago was in a Japanese basket-trunk in which he was smuggled to the railway station by a sergeant of the Japanese guard after having been in sanctuary in the Legation since the civil war of 1920. He is full of enterprise and resourcefulness, and will not fail to provoke something unexpected.

November 20, 1925.—The news from Canton and Hongkong is peculiar.

Canton and Hongkong are almost as isolated from the main Chinese struggle as California and Oregon were from the American Civil War. Yet they form part of the same problem—and constantly

make things more vicious. The heart and soul of Chinese intransigence is indeed in Canton, a city which has always been the happy hunting-ground of cut-throats, and can only be controlled by an iron hand.

Nevertheless a new and friendly movement is developing down there on British initiative—possibly the last attempt at a peaceful solution. Merchants' meetings and an exchange of delegations are all very well, but they solve nothing. There is a struggle proceeding between two sets of ideas in China which are so radically different that it is impossible for one side or the other to surrender. It is one of those absolute fights which only occur when existence is challenged. The fatal British error was committed on June 23. There is a saying about trusting the men on the spot, which implies that subordinates know what to do. Experience shows that this is the exception and not the rule, subordinates rarely having imagination.

The opportunity which occurred in the summer of 1925 has not yet been understood, and as it will probably never return it is well to set forth in some detail the course of events. The day before the fatal June 23, the British Consul wrote to the Canton Government :

I learn from sources which I have every reason to believe trustworthy that in the course of a patriotic demonstration, arranged for to-morrow, the student element intend to make martyrs of themselves by attacking the bridges leading to Shameen. . . . Any attempt to

penetrate into the British Concession of Shameen will be resisted by force of arms. . . . I write in this serious strain so that it may not be said hereafter that brutal Imperialist rifles wantonly massacred unoffending Chinese youth.

These bald sentences were inadequate to the situation ; but to understand this vital event in contemporary history, which has already cost an unknown number of millions, it is necessary to look back and tell a remarkable story which had nothing to do with the story of the Shanghai shooting, and clearly demanded a different technique.

In his efforts to oust his rivals from Canton, the late Dr. Sun Yat Sen in years past had enlisted the aid of contingents of troops from other provinces. In this process, a body of Yunnan troops, being very good fighters, proved themselves invaluable, beating their adversaries and living on the fat of the land even when their services were no longer required. They filled the most remunerative positions, and monopolized the great fan-tan gambling concession, the prize of prizes in South China ; but because they recognized that all the channels through which money was made must be kept open, their attitude towards the merchants of all nations was considered helpful and their presence looked upon as an insurance.

The Sun Yat Sen party, after their leader's death, worried greatly over the problem of how to expel them. The more radical branch of the Government, being sympathetic with the activities of Soviet emissaries, ending by soliciting the aid of

the Soviet military instructors, who were drilling a body of cadets called the Whampoa Cadets. Whether any compensatory advantages were promised is not definitely known; but every day it became more apparent that an open breach was approaching which would lead to warfare in the city.

On June 2 the Yunnan troops accepted the challenge and took up arms, the immediate pretext being the question of the division of the revenues. They occupied the whole city of Canton, driving away the Canton officials, and forcing them to move across the river to Honam, a large island nine miles in length, extending from Canton to the Whampoa anchorage which was controlled by a former pirate chieftain. After some negotiations the headquarters of the Cantonese troops was centred at the Soviet military school at Whampoa, which had been established for the express purpose of creating an efficient army of Communists to rid the province of Kwangtung of non-Communists.

A state of active warfare of a peculiar type lasted from June 2 to June 12, during which time there was desultory firing across the river without much damage to either side. The Canton party was busy soliciting assistance to rid Kwangtung of the Yunnan troops which it described as "bleeding the city to death". By working very actively, allies were drawn from other contingents belonging to semi-independent military leaders who had up to the time remained neutral. The Yunnan troops,

none too secure of their position, became disaffected in the face of a ceaseless propaganda. Presently the time-honoured method of buying-off individuals had succeeded with enough of their subordinate commanders to make an attack under Soviet leadership effective.

On the afternoon of June 12 most of the Yunnan forces holding the city were dislodged by Cantonese troops, who crossed from Honam Island in great numbers, assisted by artillery fire; in the section of the city next to the foreign settlement of Shameen there was a wholesale withdrawal of the Yunnanese. But some of the detachments, being unable to get away in time, were taken prisoners by the Cantonese, one battalion being incarcerated in a great three-story brick building on the street facing the French Concession Bridge not fifty yards away. In a day or two the mob rushed the building and started slaughtering the disarmed soldiery with poles, throwing them into the river and pushing them under the water.

This struggle had awakened great anxiety among foreigners. There had been a rush of gunboats and small cruisers of all nations from Hongkong, small bodies of British and French marines being also landed on Shameen Island and sandbagging themselves in.

Great events were plainly on the verge of being born. The general strike declared in Shanghai as vengeance for the firing of the municipal police on the mob on May 30 had spread all over China and

had reached Hongkong in the vicious form of a seamen's strike. Paralysis and fear were growing ; yet in Canton itself, immediately after the occupation of the city by the Canton troops, the moderate wing of the Canton Government declared that it would not tolerate a movement in sympathy with Shanghai which would destroy the commercial prosperity of the port. A strike of seamen on the fleets of Hongkong steamers scheduled for June 15 consequently did not occur. Nevertheless day by day the situation imperceptibly worsened, the more violent element gradually gaining control by intimidation and the use of Bolshevik methods.

On June 21 the general strike commenced—in spite of the previous declaration of the Canton Government. The streets of the city, which only a week before had been strewn with the bodies of Yunnan soldiers, brutally done to death by civilians, were now in the hands of Soviet agitators, who with their Chinese disciples were goading on the mob and calling upon all to remember Shanghai. On the morning of the 23rd it became known among foreigners that there was to be a formidable demonstration. The last preparations were consequently made to defend Shameen against attack.

A British naval officer, revolver in hand, had tried to clear the narrow creek running down one side of the island of the dozens of passenger-sampans which always crowd there. But the boatmen were surly and defiant, declaring that one half of the creek was Chinese water and that they

would not move. The officer came back with a frown on his face, sensing the depth of the danger which was developing, and realizing how easy it would be for the island to be rushed if assaulting parties seized the boats and pushed across.

From this it will be clear that to have expected the assault to be limited to students was rash ; and that prudence should have seen farther.

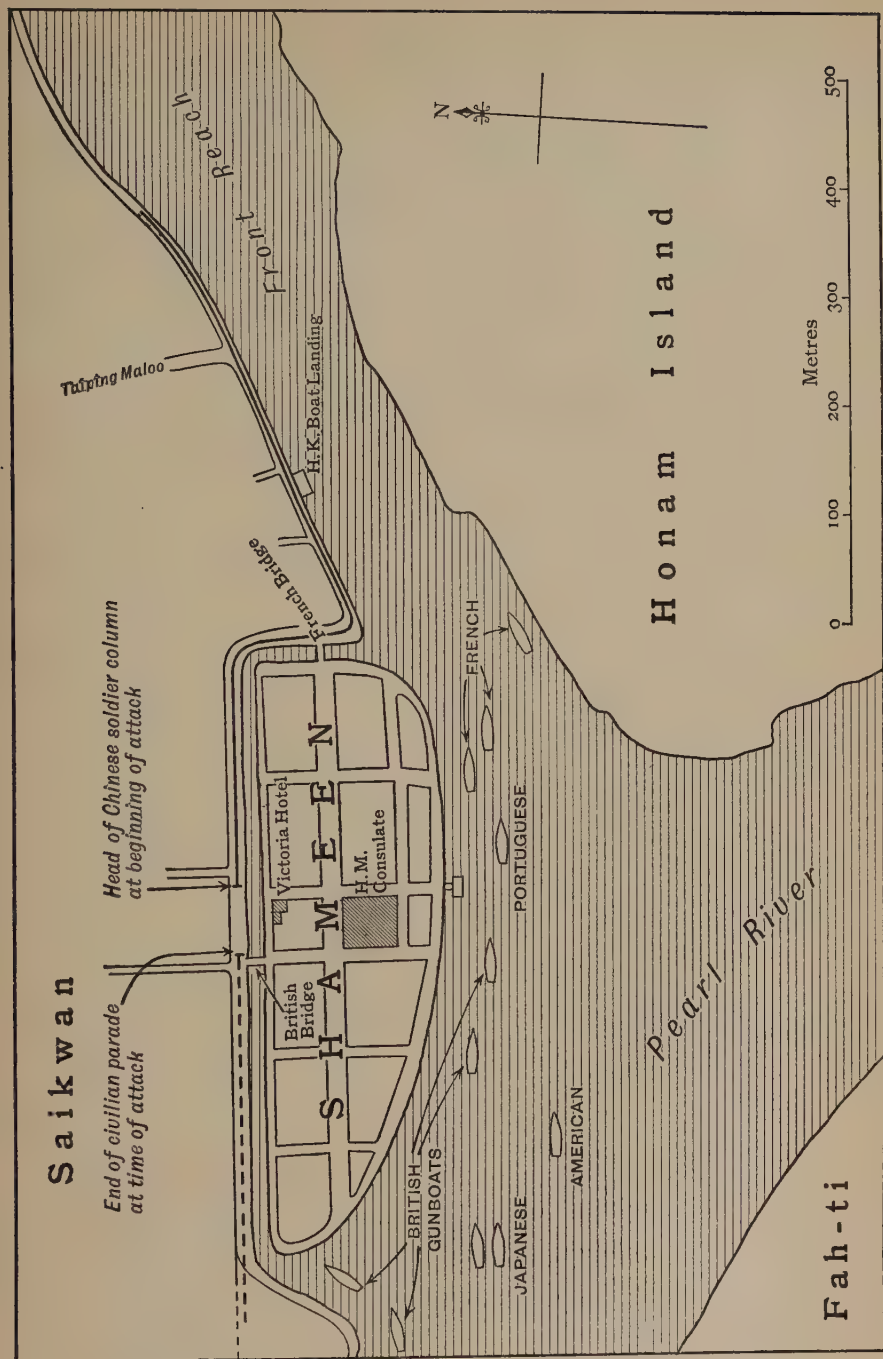
The demonstration came down the front Canton Bund later than was expected. The first banners were seen from the French end of the island at exactly 2.30 P.M. The procession was headed by a detachment of troops, numbering perhaps thirty men, armed with Thompson sub-machine guns. Following this vanguard were representatives of various guilds, marching unarmed in orderly fashion, many large groups of this type passing with flags. Then came bodies of younger men, mainly students ; then boys dressed as Scouts, and a section of girls. At the very end of the procession was a military band followed by another large mass of students.

All these people marched along gesticulating and pointing at the island, and crying out words which came in a confused roar.

A short distance behind the last students there appeared the head of another long column.

This time they were soldiers, and the trap should then have been clear.

About a minute after the soldiery came into view, the Chinese spectators on the street ahead of the



column, standing under the porticoes, began disappearing into buildings and into the abutting streets. There was a lull and then another crowd of civilians ran past. Clearly they must have heard something. Now the column of soldiers suddenly halted, presumably at a word of command. Then facing round towards Shameen, they commenced rapidly deploying into a loose open formation, bringing their rifles to the ready.

Foreign spectators, who were not a hundred yards away, watched breathlessly.

Almost at once, sounding as if it came from a little distance, was a single shot, then a pause, then another shot. Another pause, and then a volley of many shots swept the island from end to end. The defenders replied with machine-guns and rifles from their sandbagged posts, heavy execution being done from where men were firing almost point-blank. The fusillade continued in a desultory way for perhaps twenty minutes, and at last died away to the sound of groans and cries from the wounded.

This is the so-called Canton massacre of June 23. It is clear that it should be called the Soviet trap.

For it is now definitely known that the column of soldiers, which extended out of sight down the Canton Bund, numbered 2500 men and were the Whampoa Cadets under Soviet military instructors. Who fired the first shot is not fully established, but it is known that the order to deploy came from the Soviet command and that two Russians were seen

firing. A Swiss, who could speak Chinese, stated under oath that he heard the soldiers crying loudly before the firing, "Kill, Kill", in the Canton dialect.

Never has there been a greater mistake committed. There were a dozen foreign gunboats lying beside the settlement, cleared for action, which could have swept the streets with drumfire and brought the city to public surrender. The spear-head of South China Bolshevism was there before them, and the moment for action had arrived. It has since been established that all the Soviet instructors had packed ready to leave, expecting a ferocious gunboat onslaught, and being greatly surprised that it did not come. Either there should have been open warfare, or not a shot should have been returned. The moral difference between rifle fire and cannon fire is so small that it need not be here considered. At certain seasons you must strike, since force contains, as many writers have suggested, an unknown justice. Certain it is, in spite of all the enmity they have aroused, that General Dyer at Amritsar and General Sarraill at Damascus are of far more significance in the relations between the nations than mountains of homilies. All men who have faced danger know that blood and iron have their moments of majesty which can only be avoided by abdication. Had there been ships' fire at Shameen, had the ships steamed down the river to Whampoa and destroyed the military schools and the fortifications to the

Bocca Tigris, it would have been just a battle—and the Russian instructors would have fled. Half-measures are no measures. A blow to be a blow must be driven home.

The sequel proves it. The foreigners, who thought they had exercised restraint, were accused of massacre, and the demonstration of protest became a holocaust of patriots.

This is how the Canton paper delivered itself :

British Imperialism has exacted great toll from the Chinese people. It has murdered another hundred men, women, and children; it has wounded hundreds more, of whom few are expected to survive. "Dum-dum" bullets were used on the unarmed people. Their wounds are the horrible witnesses of the barbarity of a much-heralded civilization and of a still more-heralded Empire.

The Moloch of British Imperialism has to be fed continuously by the blood of the oppressed peoples of the East. And so Hindus and Chinese must be continuously slaughtered that the Moloch may be satisfied. There is but one way to stop this slaughter, and that is : the Moloch must be slain. British Imperialism must be annihilated.

A bitter comment, remarkable for a misleading assumption, since as a matter of history it should be recorded that most of the casualties were caused by French bullets, the column having halted opposite the French end of the island.

November 24, 1925.—The only development to-day is humorous and arises from the question of extra-territoriality. The second international commission called for by the Washington Treaties is

shortly to meet to consider China's demand for the abolition of consular jurisdiction. If it were abolished (which is, of course, quite impossible), and all foreigners placed under Chinese laws, many people appear seriously to believe that it would be legal for those without children to take secondary wives, provided the Chinese custom of providing separate compounds for secondary wives is followed. The missionaries are exercised about the Mormon vista this opens up, if their correspondence in the newspapers is any indication, which shows that they have not paid much attention to the new Chinese codes. For it is expressly provided that both in marriage and inheritance the laws of the country of origin shall be applied to foreigners, the incongruousness of any other policy being self-evident. As a matter of fact it is practically impossible to reduce Chinese marriage practice to written law, since that would involve codifying customs which endure precisely because they are so flexible. No foreigner has yet succeeded in defining in Western terms the status of the concubine, or the rules which govern the legal wife's acceptance of her, or the status of the children in the matter of inheritance; the only clear point being that every wife must have a written discharge from the husband before she is at liberty to leave his roof. When a society is entirely based on children and dead ancestors, a strict definition of marriage is superfluous and would be looked upon as an unwarranted intrusion into a private affair.

■

Once an English sociologist gave several years of his life to trying to define the social relations between the various wives. He entirely failed. The nearest he ever got to a definite statement was when he took a Manchu spouse aside and asked her if she were never jealous of the second wife—to which he got the embarrassing interrogation: "Jealous? But if we weren't two, who would I have to play cards with?"

November 25, 1925.—To-day's news is so highly coloured that it cannot be believed. It is rumoured that a *coup* has been carried out in Mukden, and that Chang Tso-lin is a prisoner in his own palace, and that a Soviet Government is on the eve of being established in Peking.

There has certainly been a revolt in the Manchurian army in the neighbourhood of the Great Wall at Shanhaikwan, although it is practically impossible to know accurately what has taken place, as the railway is interrupted and the telegraph cut.

It was noticed to-day by foreign correspondents, who are in the habit of making a round of the Legations in search of news, that the Japanese were upset and completely in the dark. With all their highly developed system of intelligence and their racial closeness to the Chinese they know as little as the rest.

If Chang Tso-lin goes under, the whole issue of Manchuria and Soviet Russia will be raised.

November 26, 1925.—There is a little more light to-day, although nothing very definite.

The only reasonable explanation is that jealousy is prompting the break-up of the Manchurian army which was at its highest point in September 1924, before the war with Wu Pei Fu. Numbering then 140,000 men, who had all been re-armed and re-equipped after the disaster of 1922, it was a "young army" full of dash and loyalty. The forty days' vain hammering in 1924 at the Great Wall at Shanhaikwan knocked it out of shape. On top of that came unexpected surcease in the shape of the Christian General's *coup d'État* in Peking which destroyed Wu Pei Fu's resistance and allowed the attacking force to pour through the passes.

After this "victory", which was no victory, the generals had to be satisfied with fat posts. The only rewards worth having are the provinces, which are worth half a million dollars a year to whoever holds the provincial seals. There was a scramble for such posts. Two provinces, Chihli and Shantung, were overrun and duly allotted to the two leading generals, and hands were laid on two others, Kiangsu and Anhui, which were, however, never properly annexed. Meanwhile the Manchurian army, so called, doubled its numbers by the simple process of putting the surrendered troops into its own uniforms, which in Asia is the best way in the world of digging your political grave. Chang Tso-lin wished to resume the fight as soon as possible this spring, and kept his train in the

Mukden station with steam up for many days. He was dissuaded by his *alter ego*, the Chief of Staff, Yang Yü-ting, said to be the cleverest man in the military service. Entrusted with the marshal's seal, he was the real power,—and he was against expansion, perhaps because he feared that the army was inadequate.

The Shanghai outbreak of May 30 found the Manchurian headquarters shifted at last to Tientsin, the plan for an advance all along the line having been at last reluctantly consented to by the Chief of Staff. It was too late! The nationalist movement which had so swiftly developed paralysed the old politico-military game. The utmost the Manchurian headquarters could do was to send a small force to Shanghai at the suggestion of the French, who with logic believed that the moment had arrived publicly to back Chang Tso-lin, since he was anti-Bolshevik.

The French suggestion was poorly carried out. The senior Minister *ad interim* bungled the presentation of the diplomatic body's request that Chang Tso-lin should be brought to Peking and invested with supreme military power,—Marshal Tuan, quick to see the trend of events and hoping to profit by them, not wishing to have the Manchurian war-lord at his elbow, and declining to take the foreign hint. The nationalist agitation in the next three months acquired enormous surface strength, meeting with practically no solid opposition owing to this peculiar internal military position.

By September other currents became discernible ; and here is a part of the story which is even now very obscure.

This suggestion was suddenly thrown out that Chang Tso-lin's *alter ego* should be sent to Nanking to do one of two things,—either to consolidate the Manchurian military position on the Yangtsze River by playing upon local jealousies, thus effectively adding two more provinces to the Manchurian domain,—or to carry out retirement in such a way that there would be no open humiliation.

This suggestion having been thrown out, the right pressure was brought to bear on Chang Tso-lin to make him believe that it was his own plan. At the end of a fortnight he believed it. In another week Yang Yü-ting was gazetted by Peking as military governor of Nanking and on his way to his *débâcle* with a bodyguard of 500 men.

Ten days passed, twenty days. Then came the thunderbolt in the middle of October.

A Yangtsze movement, which had been hatching all summer under cover of the nationalist outbreak, nominally to bring Wu Pei Fu back to power, declared itself in the vicinity of Shanghai, where the military governor of the neighbouring province of Chekiang told the Manchurian garrison to go or he would put them out.

Yang Yü-ting ordered the unit to evacuate in the direction of Nanking within five days.

The retirement became a signal for a *sauf qui peut* involving the Nanking garrison. Yang Yü-

ting himself got across the Yangtsze with his men only by the skin of his teeth, all the provincial troops rising as if by magic behind him. In this fashion he retired into the friendly territory of Shantung province occupied by the biggest blusterer the Manchurian army possesses, one Chang Tsung-chang, an ex-bandit six feet two tall, who possesses a harem comprising eleven Chinese and seventeen Russian wives.

Chang Tsung - chang, seeing his kingdom menaced by this *débâcle*, roared with rage and said that he would soon settle the matter.

And here comes one of the most extraordinary incidents, showing how important women are even in Chinese military operations.

Attached to his force was a Russian brigade composed of White Russians. In the province immediately west of Shantung—Honan—an enormously swollen Citizens' army of two or three hundred thousand men had Red Russian army instructors attached to it. By the agency of Russian women, the White Russian brigade was not only propagandized but its plans were learnt from day to day. As soon as the word was flashed that this brigade—always used as a spear-head—was advancing in armoured trains in the direction of the Yangtsze to reconquer the lost territory, a Red agent dynamited a bridge. An appalling catastrophe followed. The details are even now not known, except that confusion set in among the Chinese troops behind the Russian brigade; one

division revolted ; and half of Shantung was lost in a day.

All these things have passed very peacefully, with practically no noise at all, because the great dramas in China are always noiseless. But the repercussions have been enormous. Every one throughout the country has not only hesitated, but commenced preparing for a general realignment, since politics here as elsewhere are mainly a question of holding on to jobs. In Mukden Chang Tso-lin greeted his errant Chief of Staff with apparently his old affection, again handing him his seal as of yore. But there was a subtle change. An interim Chief of Staff had been appointed and remained as assistant—looking over the other man's shoulder.

Meanwhile suspicion and hesitation ran through the Manchurian army, since no Chinese army retains its spirit except when it is successful. Rumours spread. With a last flash of his old vigour Chang Tso-lin suddenly sent his son to Tientsin with iron orders that a general offensive must be started in the metropolitan province to stop the dry rot.

His son found in a single interview with the Tientsin military governor, as already recorded, that something had gone wrong so radically that the damage was beyond repair. The governor was lukewarm and insisted that a new war was impossible. The province was impoverished ; the army in a doubtful mood. He had prepared a peace pact with the Christian General so that North

China could be kept quiet. The son telegraphs his father, who assents to the modification. The peace pact is not yet worked out, although the Manchurian army is in full retreat from the positions round the capital.

Then the last straw in Tientsin. The military governor tells him that there is open treachery. The son starts at once back to Mukden,—and gets through in time.

But two days later the army commanders declare that unless Chang Tso-lin resigns and hands over all power he will be shot, and the troops start marching back on Mukden. They are checked by loyal troops and fighting occurs.

Meanwhile so sure are the revolting generals of success that their press bureau (every one in China now has a press bureau) has already announced the capture of Mukden.

That is as far as we got the day before yesterday.

Last night a Legation received a direct radio from Mukden signed by Chang Tso-lin himself, saying that all was quiet and speaking equivocally of what was going on inside the Great Wall.

It is plainly not yet over.

November 27, 1925.—Complete calm to-day except that the Christian General's troops have commenced reoccupying Peking in force. One fur-capped infantry column a mile long poured through the West City, having come down from the pass by train. Three hundred American tourists

in a special train passed through the alleged battle-zone near Shanhaikwan and said that it was quite quiet and that every one had been very nice to them. The train only had one delay, to replace a rail ; otherwise everything went like clockwork.

In Peking there has been a run on the banks. The most important Chinese bank, the Bank of Communications, with many millions on the market, is having its notes refused.

This is always one of the worst signs.

November 28, 1925.—At nightfall yesterday the Christian General distributed sentries all round the Legation quarter. His action is a notification that he is in control of Peking and virtually the responsible Government. In view of the student demonstrations and the announcement that rioters will be shot, it shows that things have been pushed far enough locally and that henceforth it is the outer ring of rivals, rather than the inner circle, that need attention.

Meanwhile the Christian General remains in his mountain fastness at Kalgan, 120 miles from Peking, absolutely secure from interference, directing the puppets from afar.

We are in for a pleasant winter.

November 29, 1925.—The situation continues to develop with a certain inevitableness like a Greek drama. Arrests and detentions disclosed the new tendencies two days ago : now the Commissioner

of Police has fled and is said to be hidden with that public friend of all officials—the Legation quarter. Yesterday saw the left wing of the Kuomintang party distributing red armlets to workmen quite openly so as to help them to demonstrate. They did the usual rounds, first going to the office of the Chief Executive, and then to his residence, where they were greeted with troops and fixed bayonets. As soon as night fell they broke into smaller detachments and, discarding pretences, wrecked the houses of as many Cabinet ministers as they could find, setting fire to the residence of the Commissioner of Police.

It is now currently reported that only by means of arrests did the garrison commander prevent the Chief Executive, Marshal Tuan, from being suddenly whisked away to Tientsin by his friends, and all pretence at government disappearing. The alleged plan was for the Commissioner of Police to mass all his men in the railway station and on the main roads so as to allow Marshal Tuan to tear in a motor car to a special train and so down to Tientsin.

The Red Kuomintang have been assuming that the garrison commander, who is one of the Christian General's men, was in favour of drastic revolutionary action, and would do nothing to stop riot. They got a shock to-day, however, when their second attempt at a Red mass meeting saw battalion after battalion of infantry turned out and their leaders arrested in front of the palace, another

proof that no Chinese group knows anything about any other group, and that each and every group plays a lone hand in its attempts to seize power.

The situation seems incredibly complicated. As a matter of fact it is incredibly simple. The minute changes on the surface affect the vast mass as little as a forest fire affects the progress of the world.

The plan just now is simply to tie up Marshal Tuan so that he will be a willing figure-head and preserve the fiction of a Central Government and the relations with foreign Powers — while the various parties solve the military problem as suits them best.

December 2, 1925.—The drama continues to develop by that process of sudden collapses which from time immemorial has been the way the Chinese people write their history. The local French paper, which alone of all publications treats the situation in the spirit of derision which it no doubt merits, declares to-day :

There is no longer any Government : there is no longer a Parliament or a Cabinet ; not a cat in any of the Ministries ; but the Customs Conference continues to do business as admirably as ever.

Yesterday the law students, who were summarily turned out of their colleges thirteen years ago so that their halls might become the Houses of Parliament (pending the building of a permanent structure which was commenced and as suddenly

stopped eleven years ago), quite unexpectedly marched back in their hundreds to their old home and re-occupied it by force, telephoning to the police to remove the Parliamentary records and take note of what they had done. Some one has obviously decided that the pretence at parliamentary government can not only be abandoned but be publicly derided. The last work done by the Parliament was in 1923, when a Field-Marshal (who is still in prison) was elected President by means of a five million dollar opium crop from the Yangtze valley, which was distributed at the rate of \$5000 per member, a unique and fitting requiem on a form of rule which has always been meaningless to the people.

Government by commission, which most people would call a Soviet Government, should be with us within a month, if China were as other countries. As she is radically different, something stranger will occur.

Karakhan, who arrived back yesterday, has not yet announced his plans, which undoubtedly will influence things greatly. Those, however, who follow Soviet home politics say that as he is identified with the Zinovieff group, and that group is under a cloud, he will do nothing. It would be wiser to say that he will be more cautious.

Among the items of the day are :

The offices of the most influential Chinese Liberal newspaper in Peking were partially burnt yesterday by a group of not more than thirty men

because of articles condemning Communism as a doctrine. The police did nothing.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs has formally resigned, which shows that although the Foreign Office here as elsewhere is one of the "sheltered industries", surviving revolutions and excesses, the general position has become sufficiently unfavourable to awaken general alarm.

A battle-front has been formed a hundred miles north of the Great Wall, where old Chang Tso-lin is going to fight his last fight against his rebellious army. The place is called Chinchow and has a certain importance. It is just off the most northerly ice-free harbour on the Gulf of Pechili, Hulutao, which several nations have long coveted. The railway bifurcates at Chinchow, a branch running up into the mountains, and being designed ultimately to connect with Jehol and Peking. Twenty years ago Chinchow was the centre of one of the "dreams" of a new policy for China. An Anglo-American syndicate was to build a railway from here to the Amur River and thus cut the ground from under the feet of both Russia and Japan, which had refused to hear of the neutralization of Manchurian railways fathered by Washington. The once famous Chinchow—Aigun railway scheme, which caused governments to rock, and was the alternative to neutralization, is forgotten by all excepting the experts. The locality is a natural fortress, if furnished with modern artillery. Low hills form a ring of positions which are quite

impregnable, resembling very much the eastern front at the battle of Mukden, where twenty years ago the Russians in the Russo-Japanese War held up the Japanese in the decisive battle, and would have defeated them had not the Russian right wing on the Liao plain cracked from the effect of a turning movement conducted through neutral territory, in which Chang Tso-lin, then the leader of a Chinese guerrilla band, co-operated with the Japanese.

It will be interesting to watch whether the old war-lord can give a knock-out blow or is fated to go under. According to the fortune-tellers the stars are against him in 1925 ; but after the winter solstice (December 22) and the turn of the sun a new set of influences will dominate. Although Chinese necromancy is to be condemned, it has a wonderful way of turning out true. It will be interesting to see what actually happens.

December 4, 1925.—A long talk with Karakhan last night at the Soviet Embassy twenty-four hours after his arrival threw further light on dim corridors of the Chinese imbroglio. The reception room on the main floor, which used to be the little salon in the time of the Tsarists, is now decorated with a marble bust of Lenin, four photographs in coarse wooden frames of fraternal celebrations with Chinese in the Embassy grounds, and a red Chinese scroll presented by local admirers on the anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution (November 7). These

things clash with the stately Tsarist interior of silk-panelled walls, and give the impression that a bailiff is living in the manor.

Lenin's face in white marble, seen under the electric light in such surroundings, discloses remarkable things. If one holds up a piece of paper, cutting off the nose and the mouth, the eyes and the dome of the head seem Chinese—something of Asia grows out of them so subtly that it is difficult to define. The full mouth and the powerful jaw belie this ; yet the dominating Tartar element proves that it is something more than mere propaganda which has brought about a perceptible approach between two vast masses of people who in reality know nothing of one another. Undoubtedly historical and ethnical reasons have come into play, and will become ever more powerful unless others are intelligent enough to counteract it all. A remarkable world drama is developing out here under cover of this endless Chinese warfare, which even the most intelligent persons have not yet properly understood. If it were only possible to see a vision of the world twenty-five years from now there might be stupefaction. While China alone cannot be highly explosive there is always the factor of Japan—essentially a revolutionary people, who will dare anything.

Karakhan's talk unconsciously confirmed the impression of Lenin's marble mask. He said that the interest in China throughout Soviet Russia seemed an immense and extraordinary thing even to him.

All the way along the Siberian Railway crowds came down to the station and surrounded his train urgently demanding speeches. Sometimes the train was delayed many minutes by these insistent audiences summoned up from the lonely steppes because their imaginations had been captured by the stories that China, the *Kitai* of their history books, was following their lead, and that soon a people as numerous as the sands of the seashores would be seconding their efforts at remodelling the world. It was the same in Moscow—speeches, speeches, speeches; immense and endless speeches regarding China and the evolution of the nation.

Karakhan had dined with Chang Tso-lin in Mukden on the very day that the news regarding the treachery in his army had reached him. He had been badly affected by it. For one hour he had reproached every one for the revolt—the Peking Government, the Japanese, Bolshevism.

Then he had become silent and had sighed repeatedly.

Karakhan told him—inevitably—that it was mainly his own fault. His opposition to the popular movement in the summer, his hostility to Soviet Russia, and the way he favoured the Japanese in Manchuria had brought about the revolt. . . .

It must have been a unique dinner-party.

Karakhan also said that the story was current in Mukden that in return for a promise to settle in their favour the dispute regarding land ownership in Manchuria, which was one of the terms agreed

to in the famous Twenty-one Demands of ten years ago, the Japanese are supplying Chang Tso-lin with extra artillery and munitions to the extent of ten million yen.

This seems to be confirmed by the big movement in the Tientsin exchange market two days ago, when almost unlimited buying of exchange on Japan from some official quarter sent every broker scurrying round the town. Regarding policy there was little to be learnt—except by inference. The beautiful days of intensive Bolshevism in China seem for the time being over; something appears to have gone wrong in Moscow. Any one skilled in diplomacy could catch that “the mood” had changed. Soviet Russia has shot her bolt in China and is awaiting the result.

December 5, 1925.—The central point of interest in the political situation has shifted 250 miles south from Manchuria in 250 minutes.

The region round Tientsin is looked upon as the crucial factor. The military governor there has recovered himself and is determined to prevent any troops from the so-called Citizens' armies passing through his territory to help in the attack on Chang Tso-lin.

He is concentrating every man he can find on the railway and has declared martial law throughout his territory.

There are now eight distinct military groupings from the Yangtze to Manchuria, and what is

to happen depends on the combination which is most successful. A reconstruction of the Central Government is impossible as long as this situation lasts.

The military governor of Tientsin has just sent out a circular telegram which shows two things : that he is concerned about his own survival and that he has made fresh connections elsewhere which are forcing him to risk a military struggle. His telegram is unique even in the chequered life of the Republic : and as it has been published in two hundred Chinese newspapers and a dozen English papers, it merits preservation as the heaviest onslaught the Christian General has ever had to meet. The naïve translation which follows is from "the official Chinese text" :

Our dear old China is so unfortunate as to have such a traitor as Feng Yü-hsiang who, let it be known, is a devil at heart and an animal in nature. He was able to climb to the present heights simply through a stroke of good luck. His treacherous acts within the last few years are innumerable, and the following are but some of the outstanding crimes which he has committed :

Feng, the national traitor, is a most unkind person in his dealings with others. He killed his wife because of some very petty reasons, and murdered his uncle on the mother's side, General Lu Chien-chang, and his nearest relatives, Yen Hsiagwen, on equally unjustifiable grounds. Generals Kuo Kien and Pao Teh-chien were slain by him when the former had already declared his readiness to surrender and when the latter was a keen rival of his after the fall of Kaifeng. Recent instances of the same kind

are found in the death of General Tsao Jui and Li Yen-ching, the Secretary of President Tsao Kun, for both of whom Feng professed real friendship in order to entice them to be ignominiously murdered.

In his dealings with his superiors, Feng is always treacherous. General Chen Yi was robbed by him while he was with the former in Szechwan. It was only last year that he sold his chief, ex-President Tsao Kun, for a sum of 1,400,000 dollars. At the end of last month, he was again found plotting against a man whom he had consistently professed to support, when he allowed the mob to surround the yamen of the Chief Executive.

His attitude toward the defunct Ching dynasty was as shameless as anything can be. While he pretended to overthrow despotism for China, his order to drive away the ex-Emperor was but a concealed act to rob the treasures in the palace. In consequence, all that is valuable in the Imperial City is wholly carried away.

The above counts ought to be sufficient to bring Feng to the gallows, but there are other equally weighty crimes for which he ought to be held responsible. His attempt to make fools of his soldiers by asking them to believe in the Christian religion, his unwise use of the students by way of inducing them to violence, his encouragement of troubles in Shensi, Kansu, Chinli, and Shantung, and his Bolshevik tendencies as revealed in the recent outrages in Peking—these and many others have all tended to endanger Chinese social life, the Chinese people, and the Chinese civilization, besides affecting adversely the international relations of the Republic. It is time that the military leaders combined to crush Feng in order to save China from his oppression.

Feng's attempt to Bolshevize China involves the entire welfare of the Chinese people and ought to be forcibly

resisted. My love of peace was amply demonstrated last month when I ordered the withdrawal of my forces from Paoting and Tamingfu, but thereupon Feng immediately despatched Honan troops to the metropolitan area and sought to overthrow the Government. The recent demonstrations in Peking, in the course of which the Government was ruthlessly made the target of attack and the people were made to be the real sufferers, were all instigated by Feng. These unlawful acts provoked criticism from the friendly Powers and caused much political instability in the capital. As Peking is now entirely under his control, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that he is contemplating the establishment of a Soviet regime in the country.

In view of the grave dangers to the nation, I hereby solemnly swear to crush Feng, the national traitor, not for any party interests, but for humanity at large. Moreover, I aim only at Feng himself, because he is an enemy of the world. All those who sympathize with the above declaration are urged to join in my effort and plan to put an end to the traitor. In conclusion, I may say that all who believe in Bolshevism are my enemies and I am determined to fight them with all my force. Advice and counsels are heartily welcome.

(Signed) LI CHING-LIN.

December 8, 1925.—They have caught old Chang Tso-lin : at last the old fox passes out ! His armies are no more, and if he is not already a fugitive in Japanese territory he will be so in a few hours. It is pitiful to see how rapidly the end always comes in China. The effort of years is dissipated overnight. In all truth every Chinese colossus has feet of clay.

This is the general judgement as reflected by such views and news as come to hand. That it is plentifully mixed with propaganda is, however, already apparent. What has apparently taken place is that the mutineers of the Manchurian army, numbering forty or fifty thousand men, who are pouring north, suddenly advanced on Chang Tso-lin's left wing, which rested on the ice-free harbour of Hulutao a hundred miles beyond Shanhaikwan, and crying out that they were surrendering, suddenly and treacherously opened fire when they had got well within the entrenchments.

Result—*sauve qui peut* all along the line. The French call this suggestively a *coup de Jarnac*, in memory of the historic stab through the adversary's leg made by the duellist Jarnac. Seeing that all is fair in love and war, this *ruse de guerre* must be held permissible if the white flag was not used. In any case, it throws a flood of light on the way battles are still won in China.

Meanwhile although Chang Tso-lin is reported a fugitive, it appears he is still defiant, and will give battle again on the line of the Liao River.

This is only forty miles west of Mukden and therefore an immense advantage to him, as it is almost at the door of his arsenals.

The Liao River region is a terrible country to fight in—great wastes of sand and marshes, made more difficult by narrow approaches. This was the so-called neutral zone in the Russo-Japanese War, which the Japanese used for their great

turning movement round the Russian right wing which won the battle of Mukden.

There may be a great surprise being prepared, particularly if the Japanese privately take over the battle command.

December 9, 1925.—Yesterday Peking was completely isolated, no trains coming through from Tientsin owing to military movements.

As usual the track was reported destroyed, in spite of the Peace Protocol of 1901 and the International detachments which are posted along the line. As usual the reports proved false, but there has apparently been severe fighting just south of Tientsin.

A thick yellow dust-storm is now raging, and it is bitterly cold. The winter campaign is being fought under the most unfavourable circumstances, showing that this time there is something real in it.

The country is more broken up than it has ever been before under the Republic. There are three distinct campaigns in progress in North China : the rebel Manchurian army against the loyal Manchurian army ; the Christian General and the Citizens' armies against the military governor of Tientsin ; the Citizens' armies of Honan against the governor of Shantung. This last man is now more than holding his own and has fairly well cleared his province. As he is allied to the military governor of Tientsin, and both these men are faithful to Chang Tso-lin, the final result is by no means clear.

Meanwhile the Tariff Conference is virtually suspended. The delegates are being furnished with a series of most valuable lessons in Chinese politics from what is now going on.

The Commission on the Abolition of Extraterritoriality is due to meet in six days. If the delegates tour the country they should at least be given trench helmets.

December 10, 1925.—Still no trains, and crowds of people sitting on their trunks at the stations waiting to get out. The track has been damaged and there are now two rival armies drawn up against one another twenty miles off Tientsin. Whether the Christian General's troops will beat the Tientsin governor's troops is a matter of opinion.

The Christian General has through all his career managed to avoid a major action. This time it may be next to impossible for him to do so.

There are nothing but vague reports. The Citizens' armies are said to have been heavily defeated twice during the past forty-eight hours.

December 11, 1925.—The attempt to reopen communications has failed. . . . An International train, with military detachments of five nations on board, has been caught in the battle between Peking and Tientsin, and a distinguished company of passengers are now marooned with the artillery of the two rival armies firing across them. Point is

given to the predicament in that the station where they are detained—Yangtsun—is less than twenty miles from Tientsin, besides being the headquarters of a French detachment. The Protocol of 1901 states categorically in the ninth article that open communications are to be maintained between Peking and the sea, and directly names Yangtsun as one of the points to be occupied. But the wording of the article is very defective ; there is no single mention of railway communication. Legally speaking, the Chinese would be justified in declining to admit that open communications can necessarily be held to mean railway communications.

Notes from the diplomatic body have already gone to the Government protesting almost passionately at the state of affairs. What is more to the point is that armed rescue parties have started from both Peking and Tientsin, and presumably means will be found to extricate the distinguished company from the experience of having to lie underneath the train to avoid shrapnel fire. There is some satisfaction that some of those who have been most foolish in their approval of the nationalist campaign are on the train and are tasting some of the fruits of unrest. To a perceptible extent the endless warfare in the strategically important corner of North-eastern China between Peking and Shanhaikwan can be traced to foreign bungling. When the Revolution of 1911 broke out, so unaccustomed was the military authority in China to the use of railways, that permission was asked of

the diplomatic body by the Manchu Government to transport troops from the camps north of Tientsin to the Yangtze—and accorded. The opportunity should have been seized to declare that troop movement on a railway which was virtually neutralized could only be by special arrangement, and that no movement would be permitted without just cause.

The opportunity was not even recognized as an opportunity.

A similar bungle was made last summer during the nationalist demonstrations, when great columns uttering menacing and murderous cries were allowed free passage within the area clearly demarcated as part of the Legation defence area in the maps annexed to the Protocol.

No word was spoken, no attempt made to hold the Government to definite engagements.

These things are more depressing than Chinese warfare because they are due to palsy and inefficiency.

December 12, 1925.—At six o'clock this evening the International train, with its 150 guards in trench helmets and field-kit, steamed back into Peking, nobody the worse for the ordeal, but the military decidedly upset by the experience of having a civil war reduce them to impotence.

It will be interesting to see how diplomacy accepts the situation. It appears that behind the International train were two armoured trains belong-



THE INTERNATIONAL TRAIN, MANNED BY DETACHMENTS OF FIVE NATIONS, UNDER THE WALLS OF PEKING.

ing to the Christian General, which hoped to break through by taking advantage of the foreigners' train. The gun crews on the armoured trains were Soviet Russians.

This is the fifth day since communications between Peking and the sea have been entirely interrupted.

The route *via* Hankow to Shanghai now takes almost exactly the same time as from Peking to Paris *via* the Siberian Railway—that is, ten days for the railway trip and four on the Yangtsze River, or just a fortnight.

December 14, 1925.—It is a week to-day since the last newspapers and letters arrived from Tientsin. It was inevitable that this climax should have crowned last summer's lethargy. Peking is profoundly quiet but decidedly poor-spirited. In 1900 it was exactly the same story. In that year, had Admiral Seymour's column of 2000 men started when the alarm was first given in May, the Boxers would have been crushed in their chrysalis and there would have been no siege of the Legations; for there would have been a sufficient force to occupy the entire south-eastern portion of the Tartar city, together with the palace approaches, thereby forcing the Throne, by gunfire if necessary, to adopt an attitude suitable to the circumstances.

The conditions in a quarter of a century have, of course, materially changed. Yet the change is mainly on the surface. Instead of sword-armed

Boxers, we have patriots declaiming from the hustings and grey-uniformed armies ranged against one another in the field. Although the cry is no longer "Support the dynasty and exterminate the foreigner", it nevertheless will end by destroying the last foundation of the State, which is nothing but the system of checks and safeguards established by the treaties. When these have been eliminated China will become once more the Nature State. It will then not take long for somebody to swallow it up.

Last night I talked for a considerable time with the Christian General's principal representatives in Peking—the inner circle who are supposed to guide his diplomacy. Several interesting things transpired. The representatives said that a heavy fall of snow in Manchuria and the dynamiting of the railway between the rebel Manchurian army (who are their allies) and Mukden were greatly delaying operations. Their bitterness against the Japanese was also remarkable, although it was Japanese information which brought about their own successful *coup d'État* last year. They said that any number of Japanese soldiers had been put into Chinese uniforms and that Chang Tso-lin's own bodyguard was now entirely Japanese—a very doubtful statement. They ended by suggesting that it would be useful if the foreign Powers sent up two or three military attachés to confirm these facts. The general feeling among foreigners in China is, however, in favour of the Japanese, the public being disgusted and almost ruined by these

endless civil wars and disturbances. I pointed out that the mobilization and despatch of the Kurume division from Kyushiu, which was being referred to in Tokyo telegrams, if true, was an important act of policy on the part of Japan ; and that as the Imperial Diet would open in Tokyo on Christmas Day, the Government must either take hold firmly of the Manchurian situation or be prepared to surrender office.

This made them look glum. And presently they admitted that no matter what might happen in Manchuria or on the Tientsin front, the position in Shantung was highly unfavourable and had created an unlooked-for complication. I reminded them of Wu Pei Fu's dictum, that there were only two requisites for a Chinese army to remain indefinitely in the field, ammunition and food ; and that as the country-side always had reserves of grain, civil wars were decided by whoever had stored up most artillery and small arms ammunition. There is to be a full-dress diplomatic meeting to-day to decide on "the necessary steps" in the matter of railway interruption ; but in view of the world situation it is believed that nothing will be done.

December 15, 1925.—The Christian General's attempt to capture Tientsin by assault has met with the most serious repulse his troops have ever had. Details are only beginning to leak through, although the battlefield is not more than sixty miles away.

Apparently on the night of the 13th, after artillery preparation, two divisions were launched in mass formation, expecting to reach the Tientsin city station by noon. They penetrated not more than a quarter of a mile, and then hell broke loose for them, heavy explosions of land-mines on all sides and machine-gun fire decimating them. The attack broke down by morning with a loss of 6000 men, and by noon yesterday the decision was taken to shift headquarters twenty miles back to Langfang, the half-way station, which has a tragic sound to all who went through the siege of 1900, as it was here that Admiral Seymour disappeared behind a veil of impenetrable silence.

Langfang is likely to have a second tragedy attached to it. If these so-called Citizens' armies break badly, they will fall back on Peking. Chinese defeated troops always loot, and if looting starts in the outer city of Peking, it will spread round the Legation area. Already there is an incipient panic among all Chinese.

To-day is the eighth day since regular communication ceased. The Hankow line is also closed, all the Citizens' armies pouring up to take part in the coming *débâcle*. Every one must share in the blame for what has happened. But the French at least made a definite attempt to find a formula last summer which might have saved us from an embittering experience.

The only loud sound in Peking is the hoarse whistling of the hospital trains adorned with the

Red Swastika. It is significant that the Chinese army has scrapped the Red Cross as a result of the nationalistic outbreak.

The Japanese declare that the Tariff Conference will shortly be brought to an end: the Americans are going to try and keep it alive.

December 16, 1925.—The Japanese are immensely pessimistic. The long list of betrayals during the past two months, and the threatened downfall of Chang Tso-lin, whom they have supported for nearly ten years, have apparently filled their cup of bitterness to overflowing. Ever since the Anglo-Japanese Alliance disappeared in 1922 they have ceased to have a foreign policy. They have also apparently ceased to have much hope of ever having one again. They have certainly been mortally offended by England's preference for America, and by what they term her slavish following of Washington's dictation. They are very much in the same quandary to-day as they were when they sent Prince Ito abroad in 1901, hoping to make an alliance with Russia and finishing by making one with England. A Japanese Agreement with Soviet Russia may have to come if Bolshevik pressure in Mongolia and Manchuria continues. They also appear to be afraid of the Christian General, not in a military sense, but in a moral one. They do not understand such an element, and distrust the support it receives from missionaries and others, as well as from the immense

miscellaneous *claque* which applauds the new democracy.

Postal couriers on bicycles have managed to work their way round the lines of the armies, bringing in some mail.

It has now been established that the armoured trains following the International train were built at Kalgan and full of Russians, and that the Christian General was counting on this ruse to force his way into Tientsin.

December 17, 1925.—The tenth day of isolation.

Evidently sensational stories are circulating in Tientsin, as many inquiries are coming through by military wire. The only local report which can give rise to this uneasiness is that of the formation of an association for "punishing" foreigners on Christmas Day. The usual silly stories are circulating about marking foreigners' doors so as to facilitate butchering them. Probably the Chinese newspapers in Tientsin are publishing atrocity stories as "useful propaganda" to increase the hatred against the Christian General and to force foreign action. But it is an uncomfortable fact in China that coming events not only cast their shadows before but seem to be known well in advance. The assassination of Baron von Ketteler, the German Minister in 1900, was rumoured in Shanghai several days before it occurred; last year the Christian General's *coup d'État* of October 23 was

reported in the Tokyo newspapers at least two days before it took place.

The diplomatic body are coming in for general abuse for not foreseeing this climax. Their reply is that this is the Washington policy. No home government does anything but make very abrupt replies to calls for help.

It is plain that until there has been some tragedy nothing will be done.

An International train worked through from Shanhaikwan to Tientsin (170 miles) in fifty-two hours, reporting that the line was hopelessly blocked.

There are roughly 400,000 men now in the field in North China. The precise relationship between the various generals is confusing even to experts.

Meanwhile the dinner-parties continue.

December 18, 1925.—To-day is the day set for the meeting of the second International Commission under the Washington Agreements. It will not meet. The diplomatic body is certainly not to be congratulated on its methods. The request made a few days ago for a postponement because of the non-arrival of some of the delegates (who are held up in Tientsin) was the wrong move to make. Each nation which has its men in Tientsin should have merely written to the Government and requested that facilities be provided for bringing them to Peking, or that the Conference be transferred to Tientsin. By failing to do this the cry

has already been provoked that the foreigners wish to avoid the Judicial Conference. Until the business nations use business methods, there is no hope for an improvement in the Chinese crisis. A committee of greengrocers would do better if their dividends were at stake.

The only military news of importance is the action of the Japanese commander at Newchwang, who has curtly ordered the rebel Manchurian army not to attempt to cross the Liao River into the zone of the South Manchuria Railway; otherwise he will fire.

Japanese reinforcements are now reaching Manchuria, a portion of the Kurume division having been duly despatched as forecasted. Rather neatly the Japanese have conveyed them to Fusan, the Korean terminus, whence they entrain straight through without change to Mukden.

This allows the army to be massed at the Manchurian capital by the men merely stepping out of the trains.

The crucial battle between Chang Tso-lin's loyal troops and the rebel army was expected yesterday at Hsinmingfu, forty miles west of Mukden; but there is still no news of an engagement.

It is bitterly cold for field work—forty degrees of frost in Manchuria and twenty degrees round Tientsin.

The Christian General is almost exclusively using camels for his transport work, these hardy

beasts being impervious to the cold and able to eat the worst fodder man provides.

December 21, 1925.—Bright sunshine—beautiful weather.

Another battle has been fiercely raging on the Tientsin road. For two days the Christian General has been throwing in men. It is difficult to get definite information, as everybody, foreigners and Chinese alike, colours news to suit his own party; but so far no progress has been recorded against the very solid lines of defence trenches designed by an English sapper colonel.

Foreign opinion is, on the whole, hostile to the Christian General, although his troops are recognized as having better principles and far more decency than any of his adversaries' armies. This hostility is based on the fact that during the general subversive movement of last summer he or his agents declared that he would place himself with pleasure at the head of a movement to drive the British into the sea. He is still up in his mountain fastness in Kalgan; and he is said to be pacing his room ceaselessly, realizing that he has started something which it is beyond his strength to control. He has had about 7000 casualties to date, 2000 severely wounded being now in Peking. Nearly all are shrapnel wounds, the surgeons having great trouble with the cotton-wadding of Chinese uniforms, which has infected almost all wounds.

As usual, there was practically no provision for the wounded, and without foreign help most of the severe casualties would have died.

To-day is the fourteenth day since regular communication was interrupted. Plucky postal carriers are, however, managing to steal through on bicycles by making long detours, and so we get some mail.

All talk of an International train has stopped. The last bright idea somebody had had was to paint the locomotive white, and to put white patches on the sides of the cars so that their neutrality would be unmistakable. It is still possible to get through by way of Hankow, but as Wu Pei Fu is expected to commence his invasion of Honan before the New Year, this outlet will presumably soon be closed.

The Christmas massacre stories are still continuing. The missionaries are badly frightened, and their last summer's folly in assisting the student movement is being fitly reprimanded.

December 23, 1925.—At last "the situation is being liquidated", to use the semi-French popular here. The Christian General's forces, by an early morning attack made yesterday, broke through towards Tientsin on their right wing, having accumulated a great superiority in numbers during the past three days. It was apparently over in very few hours, as every Chinese army fights looking over its shoulders.

This will reopen communications with Tientsin.

It will also almost certainly open a bitter quarrel among the generals as to who is to have Tientsin, since the city is a plum.

The beaten general, Li Ching-lin, has retired in the direction of Shantung, which is likely to cause a lot of trouble, as it is still in the hands of that swashbuckler, Chang Tsung-chang, who has so far beaten off every attack.

Meanwhile in the capital a laugh is going round at the aspect of the International train, which has never started. It has been decorated with white-wash from end to end until it is a most gaudy satire on the white man. It was to have gone out this morning at six o'clock, but its departure was stopped at the last moment. A Nemesis is certainly dogging the footsteps of the white man in China.

December 24, 1925.—Only a faint stir was caused to-day by the publication of the long-delayed report of the International Judicial Inquiry into the Shanghai police shooting of May 30. It actually seems to belong to a remote past because the national mood has so greatly changed.

The three judges — American, British, and Japanese—throw no new light on the situation, but they agree in exonerating the Municipal Council from blame. The report of the British and Japanese judges is taken as the majority report; the more drastic American report, which is theoretically the soundest but internationally the most dangerous because of its sweeping *obiter dicta*, is given reserved

mention. The retirement of the Commissioner of Police and the Police Inspector who ordered the firing, together with the payment of an indemnity for the killed and wounded, formed obviously an irreducible minimum; but the real battle has still to be fought—how to change the constitution of Shanghai so as to satisfy Chinese aspirations. The matter of the government of a great semi-foreign city, which in the course of time will have three or four million Chinese inhabitants, is an insoluble problem. Either there must be a frank admission that foreign standards are different from Chinese standards and superior to them, and all action based on that assumption, or a public surrender must be made to inefficiency on the ground of expediency.

The drama of the civil war postpones a full settlement of such issues *sine die*. Just now there is a good deal of astonishment over repeated wireless messages from abroad that foreign intervention is in the air. While such statements seem far-fetched, 1926 is bound to produce just as extraordinary things as 1925. Intervention in the old manner is, of course, out of date and impossible. But there are new and cheaper methods, such as supplying munitions and staff officers and using existing military formations. If General Gordon's methods were brought up to date, much the same results as he achieved in the 'sixties could be won at one-twentieth of the cost of bringing in foreign troops. One good tank corps and one group of

heavy batteries would dominate all China north of the Yangtze. The fighting round Tientsin has proved that the Christian General's Citizens' armies advanced to the attack in mass formation, which led to a veritable holocaust. Although numbers and the fatigue of the defenders told in the long run, the casualties inflicted by a small corps mark a turning-point and point to the approaching advent of new methods.

December 26, 1925.—Another day of excitement.

Old Chang Tso-lin has at last not only decisively triumphed over the general who betrayed him, but has captured him and shot him, and exposed his dead body in the market-place at Mukden as a warning to all others. Details are confused and contradictory, but there is general agreement that the rebel army is no more. Undoubtedly without the Japanese Chang Tso-lin would have capitulated two weeks ago. But the remarkable help they furnished, together with the strategic position which the South Manchuria Railway zone created under the title of neutrality, were such that never again will any one be foolish enough to believe that a march north from the Great Wall can settle the destinies of Manchuria. The only way to attempt that in future will be by palace revolution in Mukden itself, a revolution which must take less than eight hours, *i.e.* the time for Japanese troop trains to come across the railway bridge from Korea and into the Manchurian capital. The

chief points merit rehearsing as a text on international politics.

The comedy commenced with a solemn warning to both parties in the struggle not to carry the battle within six miles of the South Manchuria Railway, the warning being issued as soon as the grant of a long-delayed concession for the completion of the Japanese railway from the Korean coast to Kirin province had been arranged. The neutrality of the South Manchuria zone was the equivalent of an absolute Japanese military guarantee, since this railway lies like a belt round Mukden, and cuts it off from every point of the compass. No force coming from Shanhaikwan could approach within ten miles of the Chinese governor's yamen without violating Japanese neutrality—and being received with such a tempest of artillery fire that that point would be made clear. The closing of the one possible alternative line of advance from Newchwang was a masterpiece of Japanese bluff, the local Japanese commander, who had 400 men, "ordering" the rebel army of 40,000 men not to cross the Liao River or enter the town of Newchwang under dire penalties. The third step was to despatch reinforcements both from Japan and Korea, the actual numbers being obscured by the issue of instructions to the Korean force to proceed first to the scene, but to retire when the force from Japan had arrived, if necessary; and to concentrate all the railway battalions at the danger spot. The final step was to transfer the

headquarters of the general commanding the Japanese army in Manchuria from Port Arthur to Mukden, where he found assembled, including reservists, a force very little inferior to 20,000 men. The "decisive battle", which the Japanese Press had been speaking of for three weeks, was therefore fought in circumstances tantamount to sending the rebel army into action handcuffed: they were limited to advancing along an immense sandy waste through which the Chinese railway runs on a causeway, where no army can find food or shelter, knowing that even if their action was successful it would be useless, as the prize—Mukden—was locked up behind dense lines of Japanese troops. The action was decided in little more than ten hours by a violent bombardment and a cavalry turning movement. It is the cavalry, however, to whom the honours belong,—the cavalry from Heilungchiang. The new railway built by Japanese engineers from Taonanfu into Heilungchiang province provided a rapid means of bringing down a large force of 12,000 mounted men who rode round the flank of the rebels, covering forty miles in eight hours, and sabred the reserves and supply columns.

It is interesting to append the proclamations which were posted throughout Manchuria regarding the rebel general Kuo Sung-ling, showing how close China still is to the fifteenth century in spite of bombing planes and wireless.

ORDER TO THE POPULATION :

- (1) \$800,000 for the capture of Kuo Sung-ling alive ;
- (2) \$80,000 for Kuo's head ;
- (3) \$50,000 to any one who can prove he has killed Kuo ;
- (4) \$40,000 for destruction of Kuo's quarters ;
- (5) \$10,000 each for any of Kuo's subordinate commanders.

December 30, 1925.—After several days of calm to-day's newspapers come out with a new development. The Christian General is determined to retire from all active participation in politics, an amazing *dénouement* in view of his successful action round Tientsin. What motive prompts this move, —what relation does it bear to the obscure struggle going on behind the scenes? A foreign traveller, just back from Kalgan, insists that the Christian General is living in complete isolation at his divisional barracks, never venturing outside and seeing very few callers. Assassination rumours were current in Kalgan, and much unrest. The foreign traveller managed to pick up a circular in Mongol which is being circulated by Soviet agents throughout Inner Mongolia, of which Kalgan is one of the doors, calling upon all Mongols to unite with the Republic of Outer Mongolia in driving out the Chinese.

Very remarkable is the new account which connects the Christian General's wife with the revolt of the Manchurian army. It is stated that both she and the wife of the rebel Manchurian

leader, Kuo Sung-ling, were educated at the same schools and were members of the Young Women's Christian Association. Early in November, when it looked as if the Manchurian troops were marching on Peking, the Christian General's wife wrote to Kuo Sung-ling's wife, and asked her to use her influence to save the people from tyranny and directly to help the Citizens' armies in their task. In the end the foreign-educated wives got their way, with the tragic results now known. If the story is true it is another proof that Western schooling, like the machine-gun and the aerial bomb, is intensifying the disorders. The young wife, who played this rôle of conspirator, was captured with her husband, dressed in man's clothes, and was consequently shot with him, the allegation being proved that her influence predominated.

The proclamation in Mongol shows conclusively that had the rebel Manchurian army triumphed, it would have meant the Sovietizing of all North China ; for a scheme had evidently been worked out to incorporate all Mongol territory in the Urga Republic, which would have brought the Soviet frontier to the Great Wall.

PROCLAMATION

(Translated from the Original Mongol Script)

The Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Inner Mongolia issues this proclamation with the object of drawing the attention of brother Mongols of the

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six Leagues of Inner Mongolia, the Ordos, Barga, Alashan and Edjine (Edsin-gol Torguts), so that at the present serious moment all will endeavour to gain freedom.

Brother Mongols ! Have you heard of the interesting events that are now taking place ? Do you know of the important activities that are now going on ?

If you have not yet heard or do not yet know, then you shall hear and know now.

Events have happened that stand in close relation to everything, beginning with your own lives and property, and ending with the question of your posterity.

Brother Mongols ! That Chang Tso-lin, who for a long time has oppressed and put fear into all within his power, is at present being defeated by military forces coming from many sides, and has reached the point when all his affairs have collapsed, and his final ruin is about to occur. To hear about such an event is worth while, is it not ?

To-day or to-morrow will also bring the downfall of the support of your oppressors, your ignorant princes, for that is inevitable with the downfall of the wicked Chang Tso-lin, to whom the princes cling for protection as a bat clings to a rock.

Is it not true that this is an event about which one should know well in advance ?

Brother Mongols, what are you thinking of, what are you contemplating ?

Our times are not the olden times, when it was possible to live peacefully doing nothing. Now it is necessary to think, to set your thoughts in the direction of action.

The power of our esteemed and respected princes is coming to an end : therefore who do you think is going to be your support ? If the power of the princes is abolished, how do you expect to safeguard the rights of

your Hoshuns and Leagues? This is a very serious matter, is it not?

Brother Mongols! If at the present moment all of you will not use all your strength, you not only will not attain freedom, but will even be for ever enslaved by others.

If these very princes had previously cared about our Mongol peoples, and had enlightened them, would it be possible for us to find ourselves in such a condition as now? Would these very self-same princes themselves be on the brink of ruin?

In times past the princes have sold the lands of their Hoshuns, and have treated the people as slaves; and at the present moment, when the time has come for them to disappear, there is not a drop of pity left for them. What is most important for us now is to try and secure that as soon as these princes disappear, the power in our settlements (Hoshuns) will pass to the people as a whole.

Brother Mongols! When the power of the princes, who have been our support and refuge, shall disappear there will be no support left for us. But you must not be alarmed, and wail, "Now we are lost!" When Chang Tso-lin and the princes have been destroyed, it will be a blessing from Heaven, bringing to an end the calamities of the people. Besides you all must know at once, that a People's Party has been organised, whose direct aim is to come to your help, against all kinds of oppressors, and by every means to secure your rights; and now you have no other support besides our Party.

The People's Party of Inner Mongolia is bending all its thoughts and efforts towards the defence of your freedom, and for this reason the Party has entered into relations with the Chinese and Mongolian Parties for reciprocal help, besides using all means and ways to enlighten you; this all is done for your good. There have

been organised the so-called People's Troops of Inner Mongolia, which together with the Citizens' Army of China (National Army) have fought against Chang Tso-lin and taken possession of several towns. These troops have been organised to defend your freedom !

Brother Mongols ! There is no need to contemplate too much. Wake up quickly ! Try to realise that it is your own cause ! Become soldiers in your own People's Army ! Collect means for expenses ! Support and make known far and wide your cause ! It is you who can bring matters to an end. Join your own Party ! Follow the instructions and directions of your own Party ! Help with all the means your Party ! Read all the Party's literature and instructions ! All these are issued only for your benefit.

In the near future all the Leagues and Hoshuns will be visited by representatives of our Party for the transfer of local power into the hands of the people, and the establishment of the new regime. This is your opportunity to show your ability.

Therefore, after unanimously following the instructions and taking over the local power into your own hands, organise meetings everywhere, discuss together public affairs, organise local self-government ! Do not be blind and deaf ! Do not go with every complaint to the District Magistrate, or to the military commander as your princes do ; do not put your necks into the yoke ! Do you not have your own League's Yamens, Hoshun's Yamens and Party Gatherings ?

Brother Mongols ! These instructions you must commit to memory as a prayer ! Let them be everybody's aim, and let all endeavour to realise them ! Then can it be said that the hour of your freedom has arrived.

Don't put away these instructions, considering them

as empty words ! You must know that if you miss the proper time, then will there always be before your eyes the menace of extinction of your posterity.

For the sake of all these things there has been issued this proclamation.

December the 20th, the 14th year
of the Chinese Republic.

(Seal) : The Seal of the Central
Committee of the People's
Revolutionary Party of
Inner Mongolia.

December 31, 1925.—A little more light to-day on the political manœuvres of the Christian General, —more especially regarding his alleged desire to withdraw from the world. The secret is undoubtedly connected with the mood of his own generals, particularly the chief Christian in his armies, a divisional commander christened by the missionaries on account of his apostolic fervour the "Flaming Evangel". He has gone sour for some undisclosed reason, which is believed to be connected with the conquest of Tientsin, and has moved back his division forty miles from the Tientsin front, declaring that he is going to fight no more. The defeat and execution of Kuo Sung-ling has likewise spread bitterness in the Citizens' armies ; for victory in Manchuria was vital to Fêng Yü-hsiang. As Chang Tso-lin's Manchurian force is reported to be moving down again we have a fresh war in the offing, although it may be delayed until spring. This time the Manchurians will hack

their way through, particularly as to the south the defeated Tientsin military governor is forming up men again, and will soon be ready for a fresh onslaught.

Some attention is being attracted by the condition of the wounded. It appears that the armies of the Christian General and his allies, numbering 120,000 men, went into action with five surgeons and a grant of \$4000 silver (£500) for medical supplies. Had it not been for the foreign doctors and nurses of Peking, practically every severely wounded man would have died. As it is, the killed and the deaths from wounds greatly outnumber the wounded who have survived. There are 7000 wounded in all in and around Peking,—therefore the minimum loss of the Christian General must have been 14,000.

The foreign superintendence of the base hospital at the old Hunting Park is bringing to light fresh curiosities, showing how the country is still in the handicraft stage. Thus it is impossible in the whole city of Peking, which has a million inhabitants, to get more than thirty native wooden beds manufactured every day: it is likewise impossible to buy blankets in quantities or bandages or any of the things urgently needed. There is no provision for anything except rifle ammunition in a Chinese army; after the men are hit their value has vanished. It would be interesting to know how long a European army would fight if it were forced to go into action with no hospital service and no chance of the

wounded being saved except as in the Middle Ages. . . .

January 1, 1926.—Another year has come, the fifteenth of the Central Efflorescent People's Country—to give a literal translation of the Chinese characters. For the first time since the Manchu abdication there has been no New Year's reception of any sort, a fact of some significance in a country devoted to ceremonies. The Chief Executive, Marshal Tuan, is reported prostrated by the news of the way "Little Hsu" was assassinated midway between Peking and Tientsin on December 29.

This affair is so extraordinary that it no doubt marks another turning-point.

Little Hsu, who was a general of the revolutionary period, was the *âme damnée*, as French writers used to say, of the Chief Executive in the halcyon days of a few years ago when Marshal Tuan was a power. It was little Hsu who arranged much of the political business which precipitated the four civil wars which have raged since 1920. He was the real creator of the notorious Anfu Club, a Japanophil organization which was daring and corrupt to a degree not easily matched. Prior to this he had proved his mettle at Urga, where he was sent to solve the Mongolian problem. He did so by seizing the sacred person of the Living Buddha, the third Pope of Lamaism, and summarily dethroning him, a *coup d'État* which destroyed for ever the old government of Outer Mongolia,

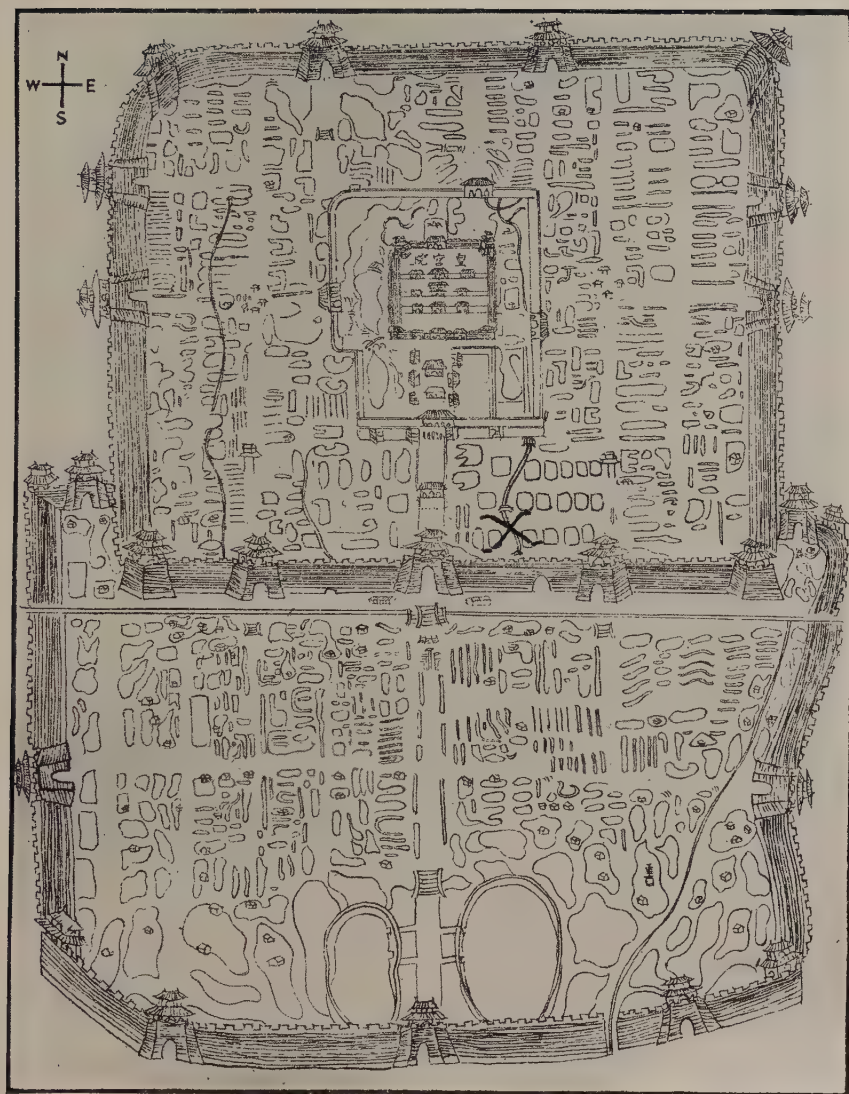
nominally in the interests of the suzerain power, China, yet in reality in the interests of the Soviet Government, since it allowed Moscow by means of a small Red invading force of 1500 men to instal the present Bolshevik dictatorship very few months afterwards. To this day the Chinese do not understand the sequence of events or realize that it is solely inadequate diplomacy which inflicts on them their major griefs.

When the Anfu regime was overthrown in 1920 by a brisk war in the suburbs of Peking and the Anfu leaders sought sanctuary in the Japanese Legation, little Hsu went with them. He soon tired of this safety, however; and by a secret arrangement with Japanese officers, which was directly authorized by the Tokyo War Office, he was carried out in a Japanese basket-trunk, in spite of a close Chinese watch round the diplomatic quarter, and successfully put on the Tientsin train.

When the basket was opened he was found almost suffocated, but he revived and made his way to Japan.

This commenced a new series of adventures.

He remained obscured from view for some years, but definitely emerged into the limelight in the autumn of 1924, when he took part in the fighting round Shanghai, and was in the end expelled from the foreign settlements into which he had been driven by his ill-success. Although his chief, Marshal Tuan, came back to supreme office shortly afterwards, he had already started round the world;



THE CONVENTIONAL PLAN OF PEKING AS DRAWN BY NATIVE ARTISTS.

The Tartar City is the top square. In the centre is the Imperial City, and in the centre of that again the Forbidden City. The Chinese City is the lower portion, the present Legation Quarter being situated in the area marked with a cross.

and to save embarrassment he was named High Commissioner. In this way he travelled everywhere in Europe and America with a large staff, and he appears to have spent nearly a million dollars (£100,000) in less than fourteen months, a tidy sum for a bankrupt state to give to one of its errant sons.

Last week he came up from Shanghai and slipped into Peking unnoticed on one of the first trains after the Tientsin fighting was over. He was apparently going back to the Yangtze valley with a fresh commission and a number of documents which might have stirred up fresh strife. He was in a special train, but what actually occurred is still obscure, excepting that the man who fired the two shots which killed him is officially declared to be the son of an official Hsu himself had executed eight years ago in a Tientsin yamen.

The newspapers are cautiously featuring ominous articles suggesting that the murder was a political act dictated by the Citizens' armies. As a result of this grim stroke the political market is depressed—with a strong bear tendency.

January 4, 1926.—The political situation has settled down to colourlessness and monotony. The armies, which were fighting with spirit, have gone into winter quarters; nothing more is heard of them. Vague reports of coming *coups* continue to circulate; but they are difficult to believe, as each group is desperately hard up financially and unable to replenish ammunition reserves. It is interesting

to record, however, that a German ammunition ship is said to be somewhere on the Southern Pacific, twenty days from the China coast, loaded to the Plimsoll marks with half a million sterling of everything necessary for a Chinese war, having steamed from Hamburg right round Cape Horn to avoid the quaint attempts at maintaining the arms embargo against China by making difficulties at the Suez Canal and Asiatic coaling ports. The Central Government is now half a year in arrears with the salaries of metropolitan officials and all attempt at paying them has been abandoned. The railways are slowly resuming traffic on a reduced scale, but delays are interminable and the average train speed has so fallen that it takes eight hours to Tientsin (80 miles).

January 5, 1926.—The calm continues—that is, the nominal calm. There is little to chronicle excepting that to-day the papers declare unanimously that the Christian General has suddenly started across the Gobi Desert in a motor car for Soviet Russia and Germany. That he has retired temporarily to some spot within easy touch of Kalgan is more likely : for this is precisely what he did shortly after his successful *coup d'État* of 1924 ; and it seems to correspond to something mysterious in his make-up which demands that he shall always remain the centre of interest, but withdraw from any position making him a general target.

Meanwhile the assassination of little Hsu takes

on an ever more extraordinary aspect. One of the foreign newspapers has published a categorical account which directly involves the chief Christian of the Citizens' armies, Chang-Chih-chiang, the man called the "Flaming Evangel". The new account is completely at variance with the official stories. This is it :

At 5.30 on the afternoon of December 29, little Hsu started from Peking in a special train composed of a first-class coach, a private drawing-room car and a baggage-van. At the junction of Fengtai he was kept waiting three hours, which awakened apprehension among his staff and led to vain inquiries.

The train finally resumed its journey, travelling so slowly, however, that Langfang, the half-way station, thirty miles farther on, was only reached at half-past eleven at night.

The station platforms were lined with troops, and the bugles sounded in his honour what was subsequently shown to be a death-flourish. For almost at once his car was surrounded by swordsmen of the Provost Marshal's guard. After some parleying between members of his staff and others, an officer appeared who declared that he was the Chief of Staff of the "Flaming Evangel", who greatly desired that the traveller should visit him in his camp. There was a long exchange of remarks and some high words ; for little Hsu suspected what was coming and courageously stood his ground. Thereupon cries were heard from the swordsmen :

"If he will not come willingly, take him by force."

At once there was a rush of armed men and little Hsu was seized. Other soldiers went into the car, and took his nine assistants into custody. All were marched off as prisoners to the headquarters, each person being put in a separate room under a guard.

At five the next morning a group of twenty-four soldiers entered. Little Hsu was taken out alone, and five minutes later there was the sound of two revolver shots.

Every one understood the drama.

It was, however, not yet complete. For at ten o'clock his staff heard the soldiers of the guard exclaim, "Here comes Lu Cheng Wu."

They waited in terror, but nothing happened until noon.

Then this man, Lu Cheng Wu, appeared among them and made the following extraordinary speech :

I regret exceedingly, gentlemen, to have caused you this trouble. You must know how my father, Lu Chien-chang, was assassinated on June 14, 1918, by your leader, little Hsu. He had no right at all to commit this murder, which was carried out brutally. In great agony of mind I have restrained myself all these years, but now I am fully satisfied with things, as little Hsu must know himself. There is, however, one matter you do not know : my own intimacy in early days with the man who has just died. We were cadets together in Japan in the days of our youth, and such was our friendship that we lived together with our wives, sharing our money and our pleasures, and having no secrets. No doubt my present act has been

illegal, but so was that of little Hsu. I have to ask your pardon for giving you such explanations at such a moment as this.

Thereupon this person, strangely summoned up as the official explanation of a gruesome act, retired and disappears for ever.

At 9 o'clock the same night the staff were liberated, but all the baggage, including the archives and the journal recounting the dead man's voyage round the world, and thirty-four trunks, was confiscated.

Such, then, is the extraordinary explanation which has been published. The revenge for the murder in a Tientsin yamen eight years ago is evidently a mere excuse. Little Hsu would not have been put out of the way so publicly unless there were important new reasons. We shall hear of them in due course.

January 7, 1926.—While there have been no new developments, light of a kind has been thrown on the assassination of little Hsu, which was an important act of policy.

It was not only deemed essential to get the man out of the way, but his papers and documents were desired by the Citizens' armies. It is now alleged that among other things he had arranged in Europe with a Netherlands banking group for important financial accommodation to be extended to the Provisional Government, and that he had come to Peking expressly to get the seal and signature of

the Chief Executive to a Loan Agreement. The document was in his baggage and, had he reached Shanghai safely, cash advances would have been made at once,—advances which were absolutely vital to keep the Provisional Government alive over the Chinese New Year (February 13). This no doubt is the reason why it is reported that the Chief Executive will resign within a week. There were also said to be important autograph letters from the Chief Executive to all the Yangtze leaders, including Wu Pei Fu, of so compromising a nature that their confiscation creates an intolerable position.

All these were not only seized but are said to have been sent to the Christian General on December 31 by special train up through the passes.

It was the sight of these documents which caused the Christian General to absent himself from his own New Year's festivities at Kalgan, and which possibly caused his own letter of resignation and subsequent departure. No one can be sure regarding any of these alleged "facts"; but while the details may be inaccurate the general tendency cannot be very different.

It is melancholy to observe how far-reaching and decisive are the effects of political murders in China, where men and not principles are the only dominant issues. Experts on the Mongolian issue insist, however, that the Christian General's present manœuvres are intimately connected with the failure of the plan hatched in Moscow, to develop which he sent thither his Chief of Staff, together

with a commission, last autumn. The plan centred round Urga and is held to be confirmed by the purchase of thousands of ponies by the Christian General early this winter in Outer Mongolia, and by the presence of several hundred men of an ammunition column in Urga who were waiting for him. According to this interpretation, the Christian General was to have led a Mongol-Chinese expedition into Northern Manchuria, and occupied the whole zone of the Chinese Eastern Railway, as soon as the move against Chang Tso-lin in Mukden succeeded. Whether these details are correct or not seems unimportant. There can be no doubt that the hand of Soviet Russia took hold of events in November and that only the stout resistance of the Tientsin military governor, Li Ching-lin, from December 4 to December 22, averted a general tragedy by preventing the despatch of ammunition and reinforcements to the rebel Manchurian army by rail, thereby preventing another Bolshevik victory.

January 9, 1926.—Sturm und Drang continue.

The centre of interest for forty-eight hours has been the fate of the Central Government, and particularly that of the Chief Executive, Marshal Tuan.

Quite evidently recent happenings, and more especially the assassination of his familiar, little Hsu, were expected so to weaken his resistance that he would be as potter's clay in the hands of the

coalition group which is supported by the Citizens' armies.

Under the system devised when the Provisional Government was established in November 1924, Marshal Tuan has been his own Prime Minister and the holder of the all-important Seal which legalizes State documents. The steady and persistent attempts which have been made by several groups ever since to force him to abandon this chairmanship of the Cabinet had at last been seemingly crowned with success, and an unimportant person, whose name does not even merit recording, had been named Premier, with the object of facilitating the next move, which is to push out the Chief Executive lock, stock, and barrel. But to have this effective and valid, it was necessary for him to issue under the Seal his own declaration of resignation from a given date on the score that inasmuch as he had failed to convoke a Citizens' Conference, in terms of the original platform on which the Provisional Government took its stand, he had abandoned office in favour of the responsible Cabinet.

At the eleventh hour a new and unexpected resistance has arisen almost out of the night. The Anfu party, his inner circle of adherents, which has existed for six years, suddenly surrounded him in a solid phalanx and declined to allow him to sign this mandate. More than that, in the Council Chamber itself one was found courageous enough to challenge the new "Prime Minister" and to

accuse him of wishing to drive from office a revered statesman.

A violent scene followed.

The new Prime Minister, overwhelmed, rushed out banging the doors and rudely declaring that this was no place for "a pig or a dog". He is reported to have taken refuge in the German Hospital, one of the most popular of all our local resorts for statesmen suffering from diplomatic sickness.

Result—ministerial crisis—a general scratching of heads, and a slightly more accentuated limp to the limping Government.

The most interesting features are, however, outside Peking.

The news that old Chang Tso-lin has at last linked up with his old rival Wu Pei Fu is important. There is every chance that the Tientsin war will start with redoubled violence next month and that the Citizens' armies will be overwhelmed by an attack coming from three quarters simultaneously—Manchuria, Shantung, and Hupeh. The scattering of the Citizens' armies will be the downfall of the nationalist movement. There will be a *sauve qui peut* from Peking of violently-minded persons who have been baiting foreigners ever since May 30 last; and the Christian General may find it really necessary to go to Moscow.

January 10, 1926.—Exit Fêng Yü-hsiang, the Christian General, for a time at least.

To help him on his way a mandate was sealed last evening nominating him a Commissioner of Commercial Affairs in Europe, so that he can travel and take the air from Moscow to the Pyrenees to his heart's content. His administrative posts have been divided up among his lieutenants as he desired. The Soviet Embassy has already granted visas for himself and his party, so it can be taken for granted that, although he may not leave until the weather moderates, he is out of the political running for the time being.

Careful inquiries at headquarters leave no doubt that the shooting of little Hsu at Langfang was carried out by two soldiers of the Provost Marshal's guard fourteen hours prior to the arrival of "the son who was avenging his father" on a telegraphic order from Fêng Yü-hsiang.

It now appears that it was little Hsu's suggestion, telegraphed from Europe last September, to send Chang Tso-lin's Chief of Staff, Yang Yü-ting, to Nanking, and then to incite the governor of the neighbouring province to move against him on the ground that the Manchurian army wished to occupy the whole Yangtsze valley. Further intrigues set the Manchurian army and the Citizens' armies in motion against one another throughout North China, the object being to eliminate each and every factor by causing heavy losses and exhaustion of ammunition.

The whole history of the past three months is an amazing illustration of the fact that civil war in

China has not changed its essentials since the days of the pre-Christian dynasties.

January 13, 1926.—Dullness of a superlative character.

The official opening of the Commission on Extra-territoriality came yesterday, and was interesting only because of the squabble going on among the Powers as to who is to be the foreign Secretary-General. The French-speaking group have put forward a Belgian in order to have French made the official language, and the British have nominated one of their own men. As the Commission will only record officially a number of facts which are more or less generally known regarding the present position of the judiciary in China, the point is not important excepting to show the perennial nature of international jealousies. At the informal discussions the question of disbursements also arose, and the Chinese delegates were asked who would provide the travelling expenses for the voyage of discovery which is to be made by the Commission through the back-blocks in an effort to discover how justice is really administered. The Chinese delegates answered: Railway transportation will be provided by China, but the delegates are expected to pay their own hotel bills.

A good deal of concern was caused by this reply.

Money is the issue now, in small things as well as in great. There does not seem to be any solution; the poverty of the Government arises from the

raiding of the Treasury in the interests of the military cliques controlling the capital. An interesting instance has just arisen over the salt revenue. The Christian General (officially now in retirement or, alternatively, on his way to Russia) appointed his own Chief Director to the salt administration and gave strict instructions that four million dollars were to be produced at once. Investigations showed that the salt treasury only had \$650,000 in cash. The appointee went back to the Christian General and reported that he could not carry out his orders. He was laconically instructed to take the \$650,000 and to do better next time.

There may be no next time, however. The army from Shantung is reported at a point only seventy miles south of Tientsin. If Tientsin is recaptured before the end of the month, the Christian General's men will either have to fight again or go back into the mountains. If they retire, all touch with the Treasury will be lost. That seems the crux of the issue, and will prove whether the game is worth the candle.

In no other country, it may be here remarked, could a large and distinguished gathering of delegates representing all the great nations of the world allow the intolerable position of to-day to remain without finding a palliative. There is no reason why the administration should be bankrupt, but there is no one on the foreign side who will take the lead in proposing a solution.

January 16, 1926.—Everything is still in a very minor key ; no loud sounds come from anywhere. There may be vast movements in preparation ; but the general impression is that China, like a tired child, has fallen asleep in the midst of her games.

A remarkable story is circulating regarding the manner in which the leader of the rebel Manchurian army, who so nearly overthrew Chang Tso-lin, was captured.

After the action which went against him, the rebel general hastily put on coolie clothes, and with his wife similarly disguised, took his seat on a cart loaded with cabbages, determined to gain the asylum of the South Manchurian Railway zone. He had covered a short distance, when he apparently remembered that in his inside pockets he still had things which might serve to identify him—among others a leather wallet such as a peasant could not possess. Taking this out, he destroyed what was inside, and threw the fragments on the roadway.

An old woman in the fields saw his action and hobbled down to the roadway to pick up anything she could find. The leather wallet was apparently empty, but on searching through it she found inside a forgotten visiting-card. She pulled this out, but, being unable to read, was standing blankly with it in her hands, when a cavalry patrol came galloping down the roadway.

“What are you doing there and what have you got in your hand ? ” asked the patrol leader.

The woman handed over the wallet and the card.

The officer seized the visiting-card and read aloud :

“ Kuo Sung-ling.”

There was a shout of surprise from his men.

“ Where did you find it ? ” they called.

“ On the road,” she answered. “ It was thrown out by a man in a cart with cabbages which passed a few minutes ago.”

The cavalry speeded down the roadway and overtook the cart. They recognized their man and flung themselves on him wildly.

There can be no stranger story of a fugitive betraying himself by his own visiting-card on the eve of his escape.

January 18, 1926.—Still nothing but small beer. A radio message has the following, which is distinctly interesting :

According to the Japanese Foreign Office authorities the Tokyo Government has profound sympathy for the abolition of the extra-territorial regime in China, and the Chief Delegate Hioki will do his best to relieve China of consular jurisdiction.

Could anything more ironical be sent through the ether ?

January 19, 1926.—Little signs of misery everywhere.

The Finance Minister has run away to Tientsin

because his last and final attempt to finance the Government over the Chinese New Year by making an issue of Treasury bills has totally failed. And he only needed the equivalent of £900,000 from a nation of 400 million people with 3000 years of written history ! There must be something in the atmosphere of Peking which strips men of their critical and constructive faculties. Otherwise it is not possible to understand how with such a situation before them, and the machinery of an international Tax Conference actually working, something is not devised by the delegates of friendly nations to carry China over her present difficulties. Their answer is, of course, that they were willing three months ago to concede without further discussion the Washington rates which would have given the Government \$100,000 a day more revenue, but that the Chinese delegates indignantly declined this "pittance", as their hearts were set on customs levies calculated to produce three times that amount. This is all very well ; but nevertheless public insistence that China first should take what had already been agreed upon would have paved the way for something to be done a little more speedily. As it is, by summer open bankruptcy must be faced.

There has been an advance of Chang Tso-lin's army inside the Great Wall ; but the drive northward against Tientsin from Shantung has not yet been heard of, and there is now some scepticism regarding renewed heavy fighting. Neither has the Christian General started on his world-tour. If he

actually proceeds abroad, he may come back to find his kingdom gone.

Meanwhile the railways are deteriorating steadily. Less than twenty per cent of the rolling stock is now available for commercial uses, the rest being monopolized by the military. It is not impossible that Chinese railways will finally reach the stage of dilapidation of the Russian railways in 1920 when hardly a locomotive was serviceable.

January 21, 1926.—The dullness is disappearing. Signs are not wanting that a period of mass fighting is again at hand, which may lead to an abatement of the chaos by a process of sheer exhaustion. Intelligent forecasts already declare that communication with Tientsin will cease soon, as every bit of rolling stock will be required by the Citizens' armies if they are not to be menaced with extinction. Chang Tso-lin's son has successfully passed Shan-haikwan with an army breathing fire and brimstone, and has thrown his enemy into a pell-mell retreat. The advance is already fifty miles inside the Wall, and if the leaders continue to show energy the Manchurians should be back in Tientsin by the end of the month—not a bad record in view of all the circumstances.

Naturally every kind of rumour is rife regarding the movements of the Christian General. One romantic report has it that two Soviet planes have arrived at his temporary halting-place, which is 200 miles west of Kalgan, to carry him to the

Mongolian capital, Urga ; and that once he has arrived there he will not go to Europe, but will lead a mixed Mongolian-Chinese expedition to Harbin and drive a knife right through Chang Tso-lin's back. The policy seems too daring and brilliant for a safe player such as he is. What is more likely is for him to come quietly back to Kalgan, and, using the fortress of mountains surrounding Peking as his main argument, fight a rearguard action and bargain for terms. Still it is by no means impossible that a surprise may come ; everything in China depending upon the amount of foreign support each leader receives.

For a state of war between Chang Tso-lin and the Soviet authority is never very far off in Manchuria. The Bolsheviks have either got to support the Citizens' armies indirectly or see them go under, which would mean a complete loss of all progress they have made during the past year. Nothing would suit the Japanese better than an attempted *coup* in Northern Manchuria ; if it is aided and abetted by Moscow it will make their eyes glisten. Nominally the last detachments of reinforcements the Japanese sent in December should have left Mukden on the 18th of the month, but it is almost certain that there has been no evacuation.

The bad feeling between Chang Tso-lin and the Red group has increased because the Chinese Eastern Railway is demanding payment for troop trains. Technically, the Soviet railway adminis-

tration is correct in demanding an accounting for transporting back to Heilungchiang the troops brought from that border province to defeat Kuo Sung-ling. But unless a breach is desired, the present moment is hardly opportune for forcing the issue. It has not only been raised, however, but the Soviet Embassy has thrown down the gauntlet in a stiff despatch to the Chinese Foreign Office, which is so important a guide to present relations that it is worth recording, particularly the suggestion that the garrisoning of the railway with Soviet troops may prove necessary. One cannot but admire the energy with which Karakhan does his country's business. There can be little doubt that if he commanded the resources and the machinery England has in China he would produce amazing results. For, rounding off his despatch with a personal telegram to Chang Tso-lin, he has practically made his case unanswerable, the promptness shown being a feature which is unknown among other nationalities, not excluding the Japanese.

Here is his despatch :

MONSIEUR LE MINISTRE,—On January 16 the soldiers of the 26th Brigade arrived at the station Kwangchengtse from the direction of Mukden and forcibly occupied the cars of the mail train No. 4 then in readiness to depart to Harbin. Upon the demand of the Railway Administration to leave the train, the soldiers seized by force the engine, took off the keys from railway switches, stopped manœuvring work at the station and prevented the

transmission of a loaded freight train from the station Kwangchengtse to Changchun.

In consequence of such forcible actions and interference in the railway traffic, the station Kwangchengtse and, after that, the whole Southern Section of the Chinese Eastern Railway have been paralysed and on the evening of January 16 all the freight movement to the south of Harbin was practically stopped.

As to the passenger traffic, the violent actions of Chinese soldiers were of a still more abominable character. On January 17 at 5 P.M. the Chinese Military Headquarters arbitrarily and forcibly despatched the mail train No. 4 to Harbin. The engine brigade of the railway led this train, under threat of execution, without the necessary official permission from the Railway Administration as well as without awaiting at the stations the receipt of permits indicating that the road is free, and notwithstanding the closed semaphores (which according to railroad regulations constitutes in itself a direct crime). In consequence of such movement switches have been destroyed at many a station.

It is only through exceptional measures taken by the management of the railway that this train failed to be wrecked with consequent loss of lives.

The very fact of this train departing from the station Kwangchengtse without observation of formalities and technical conditions made any traffic on the Southern line impossible because the conditions of train movement created by the Chinese Military Headquarters would inevitably lead to disaster.

The Military Headquarters have been repeatedly informed by the management of the railway that as soon as the outrages of the soldiers, which have completely paralysed the work of the Railway Administration, cease,

the freight traffic will be automatically resumed, but up to the present moment the said outrages still continue and it is evident that the Military Authorities, so far from taking measures to put an end to the outrages, are virtually encouraging them.

At the station Kwangchengtse the Military Headquarters are in process of forming a train of 40 freight-cars, which they intend arbitrarily to despatch to Harbin. The Chinese Military Headquarters are evidently anxious to paralyse the work of all the sections of the railway. Indeed, during the 17th and 18th January in Harbin, while the police proved to be indifferent and even encouraging them, a mob of from 100 to 200 persons committed several acts of violence against the agents of the railway; the same mob attempted to surround the house of the manager of the railway, Mr. Ivanoff—in other words tried to create an impossible position for the managing of the railway.

On January 18 a group of Chinese, incited by the police, went to the station railroad-lines and detained the railway engine in process of driving up to the mail train, which had to be despatched to Manchuli station. A similar mob attacked the engine driven up to the passenger train No. 26, took hold of the engine brigade and led them away.

It is only thanks to the exceptional resource and faithfulness of the agents of the railway that all these outrages have not as yet caused disasters.

On January 17 at the station Imienpo the Chinese soldiers have likewise arbitrarily seized a railway engine and, under threat of execution, compelled the engineer to drive it to the station Wutsimihe, while at the same time a mail train was proceeding to the station Imienpo from Harbin. This meant nothing short of provoking a train collision.

The manager of the railway, Mr. Ivanoff, being responsible for the regularity and safety of the traffic, was compelled, in consequence of the aforesaid acts of violence, to suspend the passenger and freight traffic on the Southern Section, which has been already virtually interrupted by the outrages of the Chinese military detachments. In case further disorders will not cease through the interference of the authorities but rather will be (as till now) encouraged by them, the railway is menaced by the absolute stoppage of all the traffic.

Bringing the aforesaid to the cognizance of Your Excellency, I must protest in the most energetic manner against such actions of the Chinese authorities, which not only constitute a violation of the agreements concluded between China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, but at the same time inflict an irreparable damage to the interests of both countries.

I request You, Monsieur le Ministre, immediately to instruct the local authorities to put an end to the outrages and to restore order.

At the same time, I must point out that the Government of the Union, having full regard to the sovereignty of China, renounced the right of protecting the railway, on the assumption and with the hope that the Chinese authorities would highly appreciate such a move on the part of the Union, and that they would therefore treat with particular consideration the interests of the railway, on which the maintenance of order has been entirely entrusted to them. It is to be regretted that the Military Headquarters in Northern Manchuria evidently do not sufficiently understand their duties towards the railway, and I have, therefore, to ask You, Monsieur le Ministre, to instruct and enlighten them on that subject.

I am likewise constrained to declare, that if the

Military Headquarters and the Chinese authorities, whose duty is to protect the Chinese Eastern Railway and to maintain order on the same, are not willing or able to secure necessary protection and order, I shall be ready to discuss jointly with You the measures which in such circumstances it will be indispensable for both Governments to take.

In inviting Your attention, Monsieur le Ministre, to the seriousness of the situation, to the necessity of taking extraordinary measures and to all the grave consequences that may arise, if such situation should be allowed to continue, I must add, at the same time, that my Government will hold the Chinese Government responsible for all damage inflicted through the actions of the Chinese Authorities, as well as resulting from the outrages committed by the Chinese Military.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to You, Monsieur le Ministre, the assurances of my highest consideration.

January 23, 1926.—The *tempo* of the music is changing. Instead of *adagio* we must soon write *fortissimo con brio*. Everybody is preparing to strike at every one else, at the very worst season of the year, too, during the period of "great cold" of the Chinese calendar, when bivouacking in the open has to be tried to be appreciated. The average temperature at night on the Chihli plain is now 25 degrees of frost; in the foothills and mountains 50 degrees; further to the north 70 degrees. Yet, as if to prove that everything has changed in this country, every army is moving, and Wu Pei Fu, that half-forgotten war-lord, is on his way back to

Loyang in Honan—the city which during so many centuries was the national capital. If the Christian General's days are not numbered, he must count himself as possessing uncanny luck. For the detestation in which he is held by all rivals is such that this time they will pull him down or perish in the attempt. His strategic retirement from Kalgan is generally accepted as an acknowledgement that he sees the handwriting on the wall ; but it is not certain that he has not got a new trick up his sleeve which he will spring on his rivals when attention has been completely diverted.

The Chinese Eastern Railway question has been given a fresh dramatic twist by Chang Tso-lin's arrest of Ivanoff, the Soviet general manager. Soviet Russia is frantic over the affair, and threatening all sorts of reprisals ; but it is difficult to see what can really be done except to close the Siberian frontier. If Moscow tries to move in Red troops, they will have to deal not only with Chang Tso-lin but with the Japanese. The fate of the Russian race on the Pacific may become involved, not to speak of the Soviet Government itself. Still, Chang Tso-lin has one card up his sleeve worth fifty million yen. By agreeing to the Japanese taking over the southern section of the Chinese Eastern Railway, the Harbin—Changchun line, and letting them move the rails $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches (from broad to standard gauge), thereby giving a straight run to Japanese trains from Dairen to Harbin, the Manchurian question would be solved for ever so far as

Russia is concerned. For Japan would henceforth control the freight market of a region as great as France and Germany combined, as well as the military position beyond Lake Baikal ; and Vladivostock would become a hostage in her hands. Japan is actually playing *gros jeu*, Viscount Kato, the Premier, being a bold and desperate player, the originator of the programme called the Twenty-one Demands. Nothing has been abated in his ambitions ; the only modification is the international position on the Pacific, springing from the existence of the Washington Treaties and the termination of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Under cover of these harmless and meaningless arrangements, Japan can develop her action along highly particularist lines, and this is exactly what she is doing to-day.

She has not done more so far than make a few impulsive movements, as she does not wish to commit herself at such an early stage of the game.

January 25, 1926.—An ultimatum, not of fiery red but of the pale pink variety, is what is seen in Chicherin's telegram to Karakhan giving China three days to adjust the Chinese Eastern Railway question and liberate the general manager and his staff, or take the consequences. Moscow is trying hard to separate the interest of China from the actions of Manchuria, *i.e.* trying to force "the phantom Central Government", as the foreign Press calls it, to accept the Moscow interpretation of the 1924 Treaties and to admit the illegality of

Chang Tso-lin's actions—a thing even a Chinese ghost would not dare to do openly. Chicherin's telegram is worth preserving if only for this. He says :

On January 22 in Harbin the Chinese Military Authorities arrested Mr. Ivanoff, the Manager of the Chinese Eastern Railway, without even an attempt on the part of the local authorities to settle the matter by negotiations with the Soviet Government. This unheard-of action of the Harbin Authorities took place after five days of systematic violation of the Soviet Chinese Agreement regarding the Chinese Eastern Railway, when the Military Authorities in fact prevented the management from fulfilling their duties, and encouraged the violation of order on the railway and organized the seizure of trains by soldiers.

We expect that the Chinese Government will take the necessary measures for a peaceful settlement of the matter in question without avoiding the investigation of the violation of the Agreement on the Chinese Eastern Railway from one or the other side. We demand that within three days full order on the Chinese Eastern Railway be restored, the Agreement fulfilled, and Mr. Ivanoff released. In case the Chinese Government is unable to secure the settlement of these questions by peaceful methods within the aforesaid period of time, the Soviet Government has to ask the Chinese Government to allow the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to secure the fulfilment of the Agreement and to protect the mutual interests of China and the Soviet Union on the Chinese Eastern Railway by its own means.

Now while from this outburst the entry of Soviet troops into Manchurian territory might be con-

sidered imminent, Karakhan's independent telegrams to Chang Tso-lin show that they are giving the Manchurian authorities half-a-dozen roads to retreat. Much depends on what Japan decides. The Japanese game is masked so ingeniously behind various secret agreements concluded at the beginning of December, when Chang Tso-lin was in such dire distress, that it is impossible to know which string will be pulled. If Soviet Russia invokes the Portsmouth Treaty, which Japan insisted on her reaffirming when she gave recognition to Moscow, she has the right to send in a garrison of fifteen men per kilometre throughout Northern Manchuria. She could not bring them in without a fight with the Chinese frontier forces. As that would break down Chang Tso-lin, which is against Japanese interests, it seems sure that he will receive a quiet word of advice—and will rest satisfied with the amount of trouble he has already stirred up.

We are beginning to realize how near the Kuomintang revolutionary party came to complete success in China when they induced the Manchurian army to revolt. While many facts are still kept secret, even the Japanese were thrown off the scent, and failed to realize that Soviet Russia was deeply concerned. It must have been about the 6th or 7th December that their Intelligence caught up with things, and that Tokyo obtained accurate information. This led to various steps crippling the rebel army. Had it not been for the new

Taonanfu-Tsitsihar line which Japan is building nominally on Chinese account, the 12,000 cavalry from Northern Manchuria who won the battle would never have arrived in time, and Japan herself would have had to fight.

January 26, 1926.—Chang Tso-lin has given the order to release the railway manager and his staff. Undoubtedly what carried most weight with him was not the three days' ultimatum, but a telegram from Marshal Tuan which pointed out that he had better shape his action so that international complications would not publicly break up China. Any major international complication, with the possibility of a foreign army appearing on the scene, is the last thing that any of the political groups wish to see, as it would disclose the hollowness of their own pretensions and the scant support they really command in the country. Had England given a three days' ultimatum to Canton last summer the boycott would have collapsed in twenty-four hours. The fact that Soviet Russia, which has not more than one-tenth of the striking power of the British Empire, gets what she wants, and that England is held up to derision by a few agitators, is one of the political curiosities of the age. The commander of a little river gunboat called H.M.S. *Cockchafer*, displacing 100 tons and carrying 30 men, showed what could be done. This youthful Nelson a few years ago gave an ultimatum to the town of Wanhsien on the

Yangtsze, declaring that the whole place would be destroyed by bombardment from his tiny guns unless the murderers of an American citizen, who had been killed alongside his gunboat, were instantly apprehended and beheaded and public penance made.

What he demanded was immediately carried out.

Had this sailor been put in charge of China policy in June 1925, the whole Chinese nation would have incurred a great debt to him by the destruction of intrigues which have inflicted immense trade losses on them. He would at least have taught one valuable lesson—that you do not have to use force in China when reason is on your side, that is when your force stands publicly mobilized and ready to strike.

January 28, 1926.—A remarkable revelation ! It is now quite clear from a confidential report just in from Manchuria what actually happened behind the scenes in December. This report juxtaposed to the speech delivered by the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, Baron Shidehara, before the Diet on January 21, is one of the most enlightening comments ever made on Far Eastern politics. It is now possible to see how close to open warfare Russia and Japan have been owing to their blundering and Chinese adroitness.

Here is the story. General Kuo Sung-ling, the general who rebelled, was sent by Chang Tso-lin

to Japan in October as representative of the Manchurian army to witness the annual manoeuvres. Whilst there, he apparently exposed so convincingly to certain Japanese personalities the good effects which a little new blood infused into Manchuria would have on Japanese enterprise that many were converted to a favourable attitude towards him. The Japanese merchant class in Manchuria had long been discontented with Chang Tso-lin's restrictions: it was evidently believed that a younger man might relieve the Tokyo Government from a constant and embarrassing merchant agitation against *laissez-faire* policy.

Consequently, when Kuo Sung-ling revolted and started on his march north from Tientsin he had, if not the goodwill of the Japanese, at least their benevolent neutrality.

It was at this stage that Soviet Russia came into action. The Soviet Consul-General in Harbin had been instructed from Moscow to summon the other North Manchurian Consuls, and conjointly to lay before the Chinese military governors of Heilungchiang and Kirin provinces (through which the Chinese Eastern Railway runs) this threat:

Either they agreed to work with Soviet Russia, assist Kuo Sung-ling, and denounce all agreements made by Chang Tso-lin with the Japanese, or they would be driven out as soon as Kuo Sung-ling got to Mukden and Chang Tso-lin had fled.

Faced by this proposal, the two governors were embarrassed and unable to decide what to do.

Fortunately for them, the Chinese general commanding the railway guards along the Chinese Eastern Railway was a man of considerable resource. He had been present at the conference, and he proposed that as the matter was very important there should be a temporary adjournment, which was duly agreed to. He then went home, and in conjunction with his two colleagues drafted in Chinese and Russian a paper embodying all the suggested points in the form of a Treaty. When all was ready, they met the Soviet representatives again and proposed that if they found the document in order, the draft should be initialled by every one and final copies prepared for signature within three days.

The Russians concurred and duly placed their initials on the draft. The general, having everything now in order, waited until midnight, and then rang up the Japanese Consul-General and asked for an urgent interview. Proceeding to the Consulate, after very few words he produced the duly attested draft and explained its significance.

"Now," he said, "here is our proposal; either Japan comes to the support of Marshal Chang Tso-lin within forty-eight hours, or we will execute the full Treaty."

The Japanese Consul-General at once telegraphed the facts to Japan; a Cabinet meeting was promptly held, and the decision forthwith taken to render due support.

This was on 5th December. The first news

reached Chang Tso-lin on the night of the 7th December and completely changed the situation. The order of the Tokyo Government to mobilize the Kurume division and also battalions of the Korean army of occupation, which was at once rumoured and as quickly denied, was not carried out until other moves had been synchronized and the stage properly set. The first move was arranging the transportation by the new Taonanfu-Tsitsihar railway of the Heilungchiang cavalry, which by rear attacks and flank attacks delivered on the 23rd and 24th December at the Liao River became the vital factor. On the 15th December Japan stopped the rebel army crossing the river at Newchwang and proclaimed the neutrality of the South Manchurian Railway zone. By the 20th Japan had 20,000 of her own troops at Mukden, behind a screen of Chinese troops; and when the battle of the 23rd and 24th was fought, artillery which was not Chinese held up the attack whilst the cavalry turning movement was carried out which gave the "victory".

Now for the Baron Shidehara's speech to show how history is written :

On November 24 General Kuo Sung-ling suddenly rose against his chief, Marshal Chang Tso-lin, and began a march toward Mukden. In accepting the challenge Marshal Chang seemed to set up his first line of defence at Lienshan, far behind the Manchurian frontier. His forces again retreated from Lienshan without offering much resistance to the invaders, and it became increasingly

evident that he had decided to stake his last fortunes on one decisive battle along the Liao-ho. With these developments in view, the commander of the Japanese garrison in Manchuria issued a warning to both opposing forces, calling their attention to the nature and scope of the duty incumbent upon the Japanese garrison.

A deficiency in the strength of our garrison, due to the departure of discharged soldiers in the middle of November, was originally to be supplemented in January, according to the annual programme. Any dispatch of men for replacement was to be postponed until the last moment of absolute necessity. An entirely new situation, however, presented itself when reports from Manchuria came successively to hand from the night of December 14 to the next morning confirming the arrival of a detachment of General Kuo's army at the opposite bank of Yingkow. We had then seriously to consider the possibility of an impending conflict between the respective forces of Marshal Chang and General Kuo in the open port of Yingkow. Our garrison had now to keep special watch over the zone extending from Yingkow in the south to Tiehling in the north. It became obvious that with the actual reduced strength of the garrison a satisfactory fulfilment of its mission over such an extensive zone was wellnigh impossible. It was not doubted that both Marshal Chang and General Kuo had taken due note of the warning given by the Japanese commander, and that in sheer military operations they would fully respect the rights and interests of Japan. We could not, however, dismiss from our mind apprehension that in the event of a desperate engagement lasting for several days on all fronts the belligerents might unconsciously be driven to the railway zone to carry on street fighting and other forms of warlike operations. It has also happened in many past instances that remnants

of a defeated army let loose from all control and discipline have sacked towns and terrorized the population.

Having regard to the imminence of such a danger, which manifested itself on December 15, the Government decided at once to proceed to restore the Japanese garrison at Manchuria to its normal strength, as maintained prior to the middle of November last. With the return of general peace in that region, following the decisive battle of the Liao-ho, the supplementary troops sent to Manchuria in the circumstances above described were promptly recalled to their original posts and all emergency measures came to an end. It will thus be observed that throughout the recent civil strife in China, as in the case of the Shengking-Chihli conflict of 1924, the Japanese Government has consistently followed the definite and settled policy announced in the last session of the Diet. That policy has in view (*a*) absolute non-interference in China's domestic affairs, and (*b*) the safeguarding of Japan's rights and interests by all legitimate means at our disposal.

In all the circumstances that last sentence must have almost choked the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

February 1, 1926.—Silence. Not a word from any of the camps. A sort of shroud has been pulled over coming events. The unnatural energy required to wage war in the winter seems to have exhausted every one. It is declared that the fallen war-lord, Wu Pei Fu, will be back in power at the provincial capital, Paotingfu, eighty miles south of Peking, by the Chinese New Year (February 13), but everything is very obviously on the knees of the gods.

Meanwhile little trivialities engage public atten-

tion. For instance, the Foreign Office maintains a Russian school to fit young Chinese for diplomatic and consular posts along the Russo-Chinese frontier and in the old Russo-Chinese domain. Hitherto a model institution sheltering a couple of hundred young men, the school recently became infected with the popular pseudo Bolshevism, and made up its mind that a Communist Principal was essential. Accordingly the students went *en masse* to the Foreign Minister and demanded that a well-known Chinese Communist be appointed to the post. The Minister hedged as long as he dared; but after he had been besieged in the Foreign Office building for five hours, unable to leave even by the back door, he capitulated.

The result was sensational. The students who had prepared a welcome for the new Principal were attacked during the ceremony of induction by the anti-Communists, and every pane of glass in the school building broken, together with fifty heads. The anti-Communist minority, having vindicated themselves by this vigorous offensive, repaired the next day to the Foreign Office and handed in a petition written in their blood asking that the prior decision be forthwith rescinded and the school once again reconstituted.

Result, fresh deadlock whilst the petition in blood is considered.

It is important to remember that all this violence is going on while the Commission on Extra-territoriality is visiting model prisons and examining

codes with a view to determining what law reforms are actually effective in the New China. What the Commission must finally examine is the state of Chinese society and the decay of authority which has come from the fall of the Empire. It is monstrous to suppose that, because a handful of extremists advocate it, thousands of refined European and American women can be abandoned to a rowdyism which will inevitably outlast the present generation.

The Japanese, after a delay of three months, have been placed in an embarrassing position by the statement that they are holding up the Tariff Conference. They have consequently sent the head of their commercial section back to Tokyo "for consultation". Some Americans believe that the draft of a separate Sino-Japanese Customs Convention has been prepared, and that a great surprise is to be sprung on the world. This appears doubtful. What is more likely is that Japan will do two things at the same time: *i.e.* she will ultimately sign a Treaty with all the other Powers embodying interim measures prior to the coming into force of Chinese tariff autonomy on January 1, 1929; and at the same time make her own treaty with special privileges for her trade to come into force in 1929 irrespective of what the others may do.

February 2, 1926.—Light, a little light. London is waking up to the fact that there can never be any question of business as usual in China unless rescue

comes from abroad. The appointment of an Advisory Committee with an official chairman is a tardy acknowledgement of the fact that no real reconciliation is possible in China without aid and support. The Advisory Committee brings us back to the Canton Factory days when the Select Committee of the East India Company finally made Palmerston understand that in China it was a question of getting on or getting out.

It will not be easy to get on in the present instance. Things have perceptibly worsened since last summer. There can be no constructive action other than giving aid and comfort to some party or group of generals—which is an extremely difficult thing to work out so that opposition does not overwhelm action. The Chinese are very effective when it is a question of resisting action, and not originating it.

There is also some light on the military situation.

The Christian General's army has been quietly redistributed in such fashion as to stiffen the other armies on every front. What has been done is ingenious. The main force has been split up into three corps, each of which has been given the task of forming a bridge-head on each of the three main railways, the Mukden railway, the Hankow railway, the Pukou railway, at points varying from 200 to 300 miles from Peking. This is precisely what German military experts have been preaching for years—that the way to hold the capital is to look upon all the provinces south and east of Peking as

a glacis, and to throw out forces to the Manchurian border and into Shantung and Honan, and hold strategic railway points without attempting to advance. Incidentally this means that all railway communication along the main lines has ceased for an indefinite period, the capital simply having access by rail to Tientsin as long as the army allows it.

The newspapers briefly announce that Wu Pei Fu has had "a slight set-back".

Another interesting development is on the local money market. It appears undoubted now that ingenious moves have secured the Government about \$5.5 millions (£650,000) in cash for the New Year. By a sharp Press campaign directed against those Chinese banks that were holding out, this loan has been put through just in time.

February 5, 1926.—Interesting details continue to transpire regarding the true position in which the Tariff Conference finds itself. The Japanese delegates are contesting, exactly as they did at Washington four years ago, every relinquishment of their old rights. There is now a reasonably complete agreement among the other Powers that pending tariff autonomy China should have interim customs rates ranging from $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent to $22\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, which should give her \$90 millions additional revenue annually, and satisfy all requirements. Japan has consented to new schedules calculated to produce \$80 millions, the extra ten millions representing increased levies on manufactures in

which she is interested and which she will not allow to be heavily taxed. The Japanese representative, who has been to Tokyo, is about to come back with "new proposals". This will hold up the consolidation of the unsecured loans, a tidy sum now amounting to £120 millions sterling, which has been worked out tentatively in conjunction with the new tariff. The project is to give the bondholders 4 per cent in the first two years, 5 per cent in the second two years, and 7 per cent thereafter, extinguishing the whole amount in twenty years by means of a graduated sinking fund.

While this is the main problem before the Government, the New Year settlement is a much more urgent matter. The Law Courts have all ceased work pending payment of some salary arrears, and there have been some embarrassing scenes at the meeting of the Extra-territorial Commission, the Chinese delegates not concealing their humiliation at the position in which they are placed by the financial collapse. Not only is it impossible to go on with the judicial investigation locally in the face of such developments, but it has been necessary to form a sub-committee to report to the full Commission on existing means of travel, *i.e.* to see if the Commissioners can inspect the judicial system elsewhere than in the capital. As every railway is cut—with the exception of the Kalgan railway into Mongolia—and there is every chance of Peking being again isolated from Tientsin, the sub-committee is in a quandary.

The humorists suggest a camel ride into Inner Mongolia.

The commanders of the International detachments in Tientsin have also been in conference with their diplomatic representatives to discover how they can keep open the railway and not encounter the same ignominy as in December. There has been inter-tribal warfare among the detachments, which has disturbed harmony. As there are only 5000 foreign troops in all in garrison in North China, it is practically impossible to do anything. Three brigades is the minimum necessary to execute Article IX. of the 1901 Protocol and keep open communications between Peking and the sea. There does not seem much chance of the four major Powers—England, America, Japan, France—agreeing to reinforce their garrisons to that extent, although the Four Power Agreement made at Washington is supposed to be working. In 1901, when the Protocol was signed, there were strong detachments of ten Powers present in China. Russia and Germany had formidable forces: Austria, Belgium, and Holland were also represented, as well as the present five garrison Powers, the total force between Peking and Shanhaikwan being at least 50,000 men. England had even an artillery general on the scene, with a stronger artillery than in 1860. The only intervention necessary in China to-day is to affirm existing undertakings. By creating a neutralized zone, warfare in the metropolitan province would virtually

be stopped. If it were stopped for one year it would be stopped for ever; for the political groups, being debarred from the central stage, would soon get tired of wasting their substance elsewhere.

The Japanese know this very well and have given a brilliant example in Manchuria how to canalize warfare in such a way that it finally runs into a bottomless pit. If the four major Powers each put in an equivalent force, chaos in China would no longer exist and the increased trade turn-over would rapidly wipe out the cost.

February 10, 1926.—Little rows are the order of the day, every one's thoughts necessarily revolving round the question of the New Year settlement. The fine plan of an issue of Treasury bills for £900,000 has hit a snag, and the maximum obtainable from the Chinese banks is about £250,000, say three million silver dollars. As this is half what was expected, even the meagre amount Government officials were to receive is to be cut. The general misery among the salaried men is very real, but this bitter medicine is the only way of bringing home to those who have been living sheltered lives that civil wars and a million soldiers under arms spell ruin. The army, having found exactly where all the money comes from, intercepts it before it can be paid out. The paymasters of the Citizens' armies have been camping with guards in the front parlour of "the Prime Minister's house"

ever since the Treasury bill issue was spoken of. It has consequently been necessary to hold Cabinet meetings not only at odd hours, but actually at unknown places, so that hungry mobs of office-holders do not surround the meeting.

What an end ! It should have been understood years ago that the rôle railways must play would be disastrous because they dominated the economic life of the country. The beginning of the collapse came in China when provincial troops were allowed to use them freely. As an illustration : until 1920 the Shanghai—Nanking railway was kept out of the turmoil by the British refusal to allow troop movement there during the currency of the Railway Loan Agreement ; then, for unexplained reasons, there was a moment of weakness which finally consented to its militarization. All the great trunk lines are now broken into separate sections by rival forces, and no rapid intercommunication by land is possible. We are thrown back to twenty-five years ago, and must use river and coast steamers almost exclusively. If this were a question of a short interruption it would not be important ; but half a year has already elapsed since there was railway communication with Shanghai.

There are only two solutions—either to accept the old platform of the Boxers and dismantle and remove the railways, or to hand them over to a railway company which will have statutes resembling those of the Chinese Eastern Railway.

These things are beginning to be talked about.

But as they demand as prerequisite a new policy and a new energy, it requires a fund of robust optimism to believe in their realization.

February 12, 1926.—To-morrow is the New Year, the year of the Tiger, according to the Chinese signs of the zodiac, the expiring year having been the year of the Cow. Everything points to the tigerish element declaring itself from one end of the country to the other with unusual vigour. The armies which are camped opposite one another have so far essayed nothing serious, the bargaining between doubtful elements not having been completed. But unfinished business will soon be swept aside without much compunction; for a war to end Bolshevism is about to break out, and this time we may expect much blood to flow.

Each side has roughly a maximum of 300,000 men, and each side is strategically well placed for defence but badly placed for an offensive campaign. The three main Citizens' armies occupy the metropolitan province and Honan and Shensi. Chang Tso-lin's combination not only includes his own generals in Shantung, but also his old enemy Wu Pei Wu, who for a month has been trying to worm his way into Honan from Hankow, and has so far failed. The decision, if any, will be won in the fighting in the North: the key to Empire in China is well north of the Yellow River. Neither ammunition nor money will allow more than a two months' campaign: therefore, assuming

that it commences on February 20, before May 1 the issue will be decided.

What they are fighting for behind the pretence of Bolshevism is the revenues of the country. These revenues, it is true, are already intercepted, but a perceptible portion of the general revenue, together with the borrowing power of Peking, to be considerably enhanced when the Tariff Conference reaches a decision, is available for the strongest group. There is reason to believe that Chang Tso-lin knows that he made a bad error in not boldly seizing Peking a year ago, and that this time he will do everything he can to win through and occupy the capital.

February 17, 1926.—The Chinese New Year holidays ended to-day after five days of fearful explosions of fire-crackers and a mass of sensational news. The unexpected death of the governor of Hankow province automatically gives Wu Pei Fu complete mastery of the mid-Yangtsze and two provinces, with the strong probability that he can add four other provinces to his domain.

The immediate result is great military activity around Peking. Bodies of troops are pushing out in all directions. The Christian General and his allies now see the handwriting on the wall. The latter amiable leader has forgotten all about his retirement and his foreign trip and is up and down the Kalgan railway, working sixteen hours a day. He and his friends will shortly be surrounded by

a ring of fire stretching from Shanhaikwan to Shantung and across to Honan and Shansi; any leader who gets out alive may count himself lucky.

There is only one safety zone just now—foreign affairs and foreign negotiations. The business of the Customs Treaty is reaching its concluding phase; and to this business the wise politicians are clinging.

February 21, 1926.—The swing of the pendulum has commenced.

A furious battle started yesterday on the borders of Chihli and Shantung provinces to decide who is to be master of Tientsin, a very important matter since the mastery of this northern port of entry ultimately involves the mastery of the capital. The former governor, an adherent of Chang Tso-lin's, who is leading the attack, is reputed to have 100,000 men, and the Citizens' armies confronting him number less than half that number.

They have been pushed back ten miles in the first drive and are already clamouring for support.

The Nationalist group are all urging the Christian General to come out of his retirement and assume the supreme command of all the forces affiliated to the People's party. The Christian General is demurring, desiring to see the upshot not only of this struggle, but of the secondary one in Honan, in which his hated rival Wu Pei Fu (the man he struck down by his 1924 *coup d'état*) is the chief figure. Things are going badly for the Citizens' armies in Honan.

There are reports of massacres by disorganized units.

In addition there is a third front to be reckoned with—the old Shanhaikwan region. Chang Tso-lin has strong detachments inside the Great Wall ; but he is delaying his advance until the success of his allies is assured. The Christian General's own army corps, 56,000 men, has now been mobilized and is entraining : this time if they are really beaten it will be the end of their leader.

Meanwhile the Tariff Conference has not yet got over the distinct shock it received when the Chinese Delegation a couple of days ago suddenly reversed its policy and asked for the immediate enforcement of the Washington levies ($2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent surtax on imports and 5 per cent additional on luxuries), pending the determination of other new interim measures to be embodied in new treaties which may take a year or two to ratify. Money is urgently needed to carry on the administration ; unless some can be found there will be a real collapse.

The general impression is that the diplomatic body will allow the situation to push them along much as the trained horse in the days of the old-fashioned circus used to push Auguste round and round the ring and finally out through a door.

February 24, 1926.—Canton has jumped into the limelight again. Perhaps this time a decision can really be registered against the so-called

Strikers' Committee. Having been allowed to picket the shipping and boycott the British with impunity for eight months, the strikers have started seizing cargo without the formality of passing it through the Customs or paying duties. This means fiscal breakdown. The Commissioner has issued an ultimatum and closed the port. Forty foreign ships are held up. As they cannot clear without papers, it may become a first-class international question, although the days of first-class questions in China seem really to have passed.

February 25, 1926.—There are increasing signs of perturbation. Editors are being arrested and newspapers closed down for publishing "false news"—the invariable symptom of approaching change.

The Citizens' armies are cracking south of Tientsin, and stragglers and deserters are increasing in the suburbs of the latter city. The actual front, which was eighty miles off last week, appears to have crept a large number of miles nearer. There are reports that one division went to pieces completely after being hammered relentlessly for four days by White Russians in armoured trains, which started a panic. We shall soon know the truth.

The Canton strikers have been forced to abandon their hazardous game, and the port of Canton is open again. So the flare-up entirely failed to bring a radical solution.

February 27, 1926.—The "front" is now said to

be not more than twenty-five miles off Tientsin at certain points. Armoured trains manned by White Russians are responsible for the break-through. Cannonading is heard quite clearly in the streets of the Tientsin Settlements. There is complete peace locally, but every one seems to have his ear to the ground. Government—even nominal government—in such circumstances is certainly a fiction. Cabinet ministers have to have scouts out everywhere so as to keep in touch with military developments and to be prepared for a quick exit. Here in China there is the element of personal peril which is absent elsewhere: you are liable to be shot in extreme circumstances. A nice etiquette has, however, grown up under the Republic. There are always warnings and hints so intelligently adjusted to the situation that any person of ordinary common sense can get himself, his family, and a full load of furniture safely under the protection of an extra-territorialized area at least twenty-four hours ahead of Nemesis.

March 2, 1926.—The loud music is about to commence.

The Christian General's army corps has occupied Tientsin and taken charge of the south front. His men are disarming the disorganized men of other corps, and have already sufficiently adjusted the situation on the battlefield by their superior discipline to show that a fight every whit as bitter as the December struggle is imminent.

A telegram reports that Chang Tso-lin is coming into action from the north, which means a double front. He has issued a proclamation denouncing the Christian General and his Bolshevik proclivities ; and his cavalry are already thirty miles inside the Great Wall. Two dense columns are to invade the plain—one marching on Tientsin, the second to make a direct drive on Peking, which is exactly 112 miles from where the outposts now are.

The position before the Christian General is now becoming clear. He has to defend the great Peking plain, which stretches from the Mongolian foothills to the sea, at four points, irrespective of what his allies may do. If his men are driven in, each group will fall back in step with the others until they reach the ring of the metropolitan area ; as a last resort Peking will be abandoned, and the passes to the west and north of the capital made the defence line. The mountain mass above Peking is really an impregnable fortress and extends clear west for hundreds of miles, including the provinces of Shansi and Kansu and a vast amount of fertile territory. The Christian General can hold this area against the whole of China provided that he has ammunition and that his men do not revolt ; and, if he is embittered by defeat and throws in his lot definitely with Soviet Russia, the Red Army can pour across the Gobi Desert to his assistance.

March 4, 1926.—All the army groups are

thrusting at one another, but nothing decisive has yet occurred.

The papers say an important personage arrived in Peking on the night of the 2nd March and left again before dawn.

It is believed to be the Christian General, who has many arrangements to make if he is not to be confronted by a general collapse. His allies in Honan have retreated to the Yellow River bridge and blown it up, thus surrendering more than half the province to Wu Pei Fu.

Chang Tso-lin's men have also advanced thirty miles : still there is now no question that they are trying to get the Christian General in a position where he will be forced to bargain rather than to fight. Chang Tso-lin has been greatly weakened by the events of the past four months and is in no position to support a long campaign. Although the matter is kept a dead secret, it is believed that his Manchurian fiat money, the paper dollars of the three Manchurian provinces, has now reached the relatively enormous total of five hundred million dollars—with no security at all behind it. Continued warfare will require further great issues, and it will be impossible to keep the rate pegged in relation to silver. The civil government of Manchuria is dead against this continued warfare, which is ruining a rich country-side. Furthermore, the population is increasingly incensed at the stories circulating that Chang Tso-lin has been forced by circumstances to give many things to the Japanese. It

is impossible yet to know the full price which was paid in December for Japanese help, but it must have been a big one.

There was a surprise landing carried out yesterday near the mouth of the Tientsin River—6000 Shantung troops were put on shore.

The trains are still running regularly to Tientsin, but that is because the real pressure has not yet commenced.

It is still believed that the Christian General will be made generalissimo of the North and take the field in person.

March 7, 1926.—Everything is ominously quiet as before a storm. It is generally understood that the Soviet Government insists that the Christian General shall fight, declaring that as he has had masses of weapons and ammunition from it, he must keep his part of the bargain—or take the consequences. This is, of course, only gossip ; but as a considerable portion of the day is spent in the capital in exchanging notes, there is an element of truth in most of the small talk.

The Christian General is evidently in a serious quandary. He is beginning to see that he has his back to the wall.

Troops are pouring down from his mountain zone ; his very last reserves are being mobilized. He will need every man, as he will soon be surrounded. A careful count of all his available forces is as follows : (1) His army corps, 58,000 ; (2) re-

armed troops of frontier districts, 30,000 ; (3) new formations, 20,000. This means that he has 100,000 men under his personal command, irrespective of his allies, and that although only 58,000 have been trained by him, the mass seems sufficient to stand a long campaign.

The vanguard of the Manchurian army is reported marching due west on Peking, skirting the Great Wall, and is less than 100 miles away. A heavy battle is expected this week. Yet it must not be forgotten that Chinese armies in this strange civil war have a way of disappearing into the void.

At the Chief Executive's reception of the British Commissioner for the Boxer Indemnity Fund, Lord Willingdon, an interesting little incident occurred. The British delegate asked how, in Marshal Tuan's opinion, the money should be spent—on education ?

The Chief Executive lifted his hands and exclaimed with extraordinary force :

“ Anything but the students—anything.”

“ Then what ? ” inquired the British delegate.

“ The best things are railways—certainly railways.”

This little interlude shows clearly how the student movement has entirely discredited the cause of modern education in China, and how every one distrusts it.

March 9, 1926.—After making several feints, the little squadron of transports and gunboats that

has been off the Taku Bar for a week successfully put on shore a force of several thousand men near Peitang, a place which has historic interest. (The previous reports of landings were premature.) It was here that the British and French landed in 1860 to avenge the affair of the Taku forts of the previous year and to march on Peking, their unexpected flank attack on the north of the river mouth enabling them to take the Taku forts in the rear.

What has happened on the present occasion is still obscure; but that the railway has been temporarily cut, and a further embarrassment put on the peaceful inhabitants of this luckless country, is undoubted. The great Kailan coal mines, which are midway between Tientsin and Shanhaikwan, are isolated, and there is no more coal for anybody. The maximum all this fighting does is to divide the country into an ever-greater number of compartments, and to increase the anarchy. If there were no foreign treaties, no foreign interests, and no foreign Press to report the details, the fighting would go on spasmodically for forty years, gradually increasing the circle of ruin, the settlement coming finally from general lassitude and the deaths of the chief leaders. Ever since the fall of the Han dynasty, a period of forty years, which is the equivalent of two Chinese generations, has always been needed to prepare the foundation for a new regime—a foundation of corpses. Normally, fighting in China is slow and rhythmic like the

seasons ; it has been rendered ugly and abnormal by railways and firearms which have heaped men together and imposed illogical decisions not based on national needs. No leader has the imagination or organizing power to deal with the numbers and instrumentalities of to-day : all still use the old methods suited to the small groups the country contained until the strong rule of the Manchus increased the population sevenfold in 150 years. Those who try to make out the present contest as something ennobling, the beginning of nationalism, do not understand the peculiar psychology of the race. Civil war in China is an exaggeration of the street fight, in which a myriad voices participate and in which the chief protagonists are locked to inactivity by the dead-weight of the crowd, whose nerves are tickled and excited by the hysterical spectacle, and who crave nothing but its pageantry.

March 10, 1926.—The Protocol of 1901 is again to the fore.

Tientsin is completely cut off from the sea, no navigation being possible. For all the leading marks have been removed from the Bar and the Channel, and mechanical mines planted so as to prevent further attempts at enemy landings, in complete defiance of treaty provisions and the commercial requirements of the port. One of the curiosities of the situation in China to-day is the way life is turned upside-down by surprise after surprise without occasioning any particular official

response. It is as if all concerned had lost their will-power, their capacity to react to even open insults. An engagement which took place between the forts and "enemy" gunboats on the 8th instant endangered a number of foreign steamers, which promptly put to sea, the pilot boats and stations being evacuated just in time.

It will be interesting to see what diplomatic reply there will be to all this. The capital argument of diplomacy, that in none of these developments is there anything purposely directed against foreigners, can be ruled out of court. When the confusion has become sufficiently intensified, we may all drift into war from failing to meet the peril at its birth. It is almost impossible to decide when a negative policy has reached its lowest point, and is only a form of cowardice which will bring its own retribution.

It is rumoured that the detachments of the Shantung army which were successfully landed at Peitang have been surrounded and cut to pieces, and that the Citizens' armies are now more than holding their own.

March 12, 1926.—The Christian General's movements are very important just now. It has been definitely established that he has never moved all winter from the Soviet ammunition base on the Kalgan railway—P'ingtichuan—where he has been waiting to see what would turn up. From P'ingtichuan to Urga there is a straight run across the

Gobi, without the trouble cars have with the steep gradients round Kalgan. Now he has sent off his wife and children to the Trans-Siberian Railway. A European traveller who met their convoy of motor-cars in the desert said they were by far the most comfortable on the road,—fur-lined and thoroughly equipped for bitter weather,—ten cars in all with a strong armed bodyguard.

The Christian General himself is sitting waiting for the upshot of the fight on the plains alongside his ammunition dump, which no doubt gives him some consolation as it is being constantly added to by the Soviet service of motor-trucks. Those who declare that he will disappear, like an arrow from the bow, if things go against his men, have not entirely absorbed the strategical significance of his present manœuvring. He has two or three possible games if his men are driven off the plains. First, he can arrange some sort of compromise which will guarantee the new masters of Peking that he will not direct great raiding attacks from the mountains. Second, he can withdraw his army entirely from Chinese politics, and by allying himself with, or taking over, the Urga government, consolidate a rule which will comprise a goodly bit of High Asia. Third, he can easily become the victim of his own medicine, and at the least expected moment receive the happy despatch. If his men manage to stand firm and stem the attack, he may be tempted to march forward another step in his strange destiny.

The Taku embroilment seems likely to spread. It is impossible to allow the river mouth of the second greatest port in the country to be turned into a battle-ground by irresponsibles who cannot tell a foreign warship from one of their own. The Kuominchün or Citizens' army has been so Bolshevized by the propaganda department of the Kuomintang party that observers are noticing that in out-of-the-way places even supply trains come in covered with little banners calling on all to overthrow Imperialism and the unequal treaties. Under cover of a Chinese war Soviet Russia is still exerting every effort to dominate the councils of the nation, and destroy the influence and interest of other Powers.

To-day the first anniversary of Sun Yat Sen's death was celebrated by vast crowds round the palace entrances. The blue Canton flag, with the sun on it, standing for diluted Communism, was everywhere visible. The Canton movement has gained to this extent—that its paraphernalia are part of all festivities, and are known of from one end of the country to the other.

March 13, 1926.—A good deal of excitement has been caused by the Taku forts firing on a Japanese destroyer and wounding several officers after all arrangements had been officially made for the passage of the destroyer across the Bar and up the river. This time it is believed Japan will do something. If she would only bring over 20,000

men and enforce the Protocol of 1901, we would have peace in China. The Washington Treaties are the stumbling-block; but there have been indications recently that the limit has been reached even for American diplomacy. That it has been monstrous to allow this destruction of China to go on for so long is self-evident, but when you have to battle with sentimental considerations it is very hard to induce any action at all.

Eye-witnesses of the firing on the Japanese destroyer declare that the Chinese soldiery did not know it was a foreign warship they had to deal with; and that the Japanese did not return the fire for three or four minutes, although the Chinese commander asserted that he had been fired on first.

There are reports that the admirals on the station have been telegraphed for, and that this may develop into a full-dress affair.

March 17, 1926.—Yesterday the Protocol Powers took a decisive step and issued a forty-four hours' ultimatum on the subject of the Taku Channel. This is the first action of any importance in China for twelve years, and has created a sensation. Warships of all nations are steaming towards Taku anchorage, and it is expected that the assembled fleet will number thirty vessels of all classes. The diplomatic Note is adroit in that it hands over matters to the naval commanders and leaves it to them to take their own measures; and while

sympathy is felt for the Peking Government for the position in which it is placed by the action of partisan generals, it is felt that "the last hour" has arrived, and that further weakness will do immense harm. Speculation is rife as to whether the Christian General's supporters will swallow this bitter pill or not; but it does not seem likely that they will risk collision with five major Powers.

The Note to the Chinese Foreign Office, with the accompanying memorandum, being historic documents, should be quoted.

March 16, 1926.

In pursuance of my Note of March 10th last concerning the necessity of maintaining open communication to the sea through the Taku Channel, I have the honour to hand Your Excellency herewith the text of a Memorandum which will be transmitted to the Commanders of the two contending Chinese forces at Taku, setting forth the measures to be taken to ensure the free navigation in and out of Tientsin.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

MEMORANDUM

On March 10th the Senior Minister, on behalf of the Protocol Powers, notified the Chinese Government of the necessity of removing obstacles to the freedom of navigation in and out of Tientsin either by the placing of mines or by gunfire, reserving their right to take action themselves to that end and for the maintenance of the Protocol of 1901, in case the Chinese Government failed to accomplish this forthwith.

Through the Consular Bodies at Tientsin, Mukden, and Tsinanfu similar notifications have since been conveyed to the respective headquarters of the forces engaging in hostilities at the entrance of the harbour of Tientsin.

Inasmuch as no effect appears to have been given as yet to the demand of the Protocol Powers, the Ministers representing the countries having naval forces at Tientsin, have agreed that it is desirable that the naval commanders should at 4 P.M. on Tuesday, March 16th, notify the military authorities in command of the forts at Taku and the naval officer in command of the Tsingtao flotilla to the following effect :

In order to maintain the general treaty rights of international commerce and the particular right of free access from the capital to the sea as provided by the Protocol of 1901; the Powers concerned demand that :

- (1) All hostilities in the channel from Taku Bar to Tientsin must be discontinued.
- (2) All mines or other obstructions must be removed.
- (3) All navigation signals must be restored and not further molested.
- (4) All combatant vessels must remain outside Taku Bar and refrain from interference with foreign shipping ; and
- (5) All searches of foreign vessels except by the Customs authorities must be discontinued.

If satisfactory assurances on these points have not been received by noon of Thursday, March 18th, the naval authorities of the foreign Powers will proceed to take such measures as they may find necessary for the purpose of removing or of suppressing any obstruction to the free and safe navigation of the channel between Tientsin and the sea.

The Chinese have remained calm for the time

being under this thrust, but the Soviet Embassy has started fulminating. The Embassy is particularly bitter because the blockade ships of the Shantung-Manchurian combination just outside Taku Bar have captured an ammunition ship from Vladivostock said to be loaded with machine-guns, artillery, and every military requisite—a serious blow to the Nationalist armies. The reports given out that Mongol cavalry of the Red Army had arrived at Kalgan to engage in the civil war on the side of the Christian General have also enraged Soviet officials. The Embassy consequently expressed itself in a Press *communiqué* in the following terms,—which shows what an interesting place Peking now is.

Although, in a formal sense, Soviet Russia is a Protocol Power; nevertheless she has nothing to do with the ultimatum. The ultimatum was presented by certain Powers without the knowledge and consent of the Soviet Ambassador. It must be confessed that, apart from the formal aspect of the case, the representatives of the Powers acted not altogether without caution in refraining from consulting the Soviet Ambassador before despatching the Note; for they must have quite justly expected his determined and categorical objection to the ultimatum, which is nothing less than masked Imperialist intervention in the internal struggles in China.

It is interesting to note that the Imperialists considered it their duty to intervene just at the moment when success was beginning to appear on the side of the National Armies. The Boxer Protocol is one of the most revolting examples of Imperialism, and to use this together with

threats as a pretext for openly intervening in the internal struggles in China can only serve still further to discredit the Powers in the eyes of the Chinese people and intensify the struggle against Imperialism. And Imperialism, which is so sedulously undermining its own existence in China, will not be able to save itself by promoting Anti-Soviet propaganda, no matter how much money it may pour out for the purpose.

As a matter of record, it should be noted that the Soviet claim that "success was beginning to appear on the side of the National Armies" is incorrect. The real pressure has not yet commenced and may not commence until next month. The Christian General's forces are fighting in a perimeter round Peking roughly 100 miles from the centre, and have only been seriously engaged on the Shantung border. The maximum pressure will come from Honan, where Wu Pei Fu has been completely successful and is organizing a thrust with 100,000 troops. Chang Tso-lin has also not yet thrown in his full weight. As the Citizens' armies will be greatly outnumbered by April the acid test will come then, and not an hour before.

March 19, 1926.—Yesterday afternoon people who were on the main streets shortly after two o'clock began to notice groups of students hurrying by, very much frightened; they were followed by many wounded ones in rickshaws. The news became quickly known that what has been inevitable in Peking ever since the agitations of last

year had actually occurred, and a veritable massacre had taken place in front of the Cabinet office.

The facts seem to be as follows. With the usual Bolshevik inspiration, the students had held a mass meeting at the Palace Gate and then marched in procession to the Cabinet buildings, carrying a blood-stained shirt on a pole as one of their banners, to protest against the Powers' Taku ultimatum. After some preliminary collisions they began to shout abuse and attempted to rush the buildings. Firing started at once from two companies of bodyguards, and as the crowd was dense the casualties were far heavier than anything so far recorded in these outbreaks. It is stated to-day that 55 were killed outright or died of wounds, 90 wounded seriously, and a number slightly. These casualties, being much greater than any caused by the British last year, will tend to prove to the population that the use of firearms is sometimes necessary if authority is to be preserved.

Nevertheless the affair has given the town the greatest shock it has had for years, and has completely obliterated the Taku crisis (which has in effect been settled by a rapid Chinese acceptance of the terms of the ultimatum). It will either knock out the Communist party in China or force some new move.

Marshal Tuan, the Chief Executive, immediately assembled a Cabinet meeting last night at which the arrest of all the Communist leaders was decided upon. As these men include the leaders in the

Canton delegation in Peking it is an important turning-point. Most of the plotters have already fled to the Soviet Embassy. The proclamation given out last evening has some interesting sentences :

To the Civil and Military authorities of the different provinces and areas : During the last few years Hsu Chien, Li Ta-chao, Li Shih-tseng, Koo Chao-hsung, Yi Pei-chi and others have been creating constant troubles by calling together crowds of demonstrators under the pretence of obeying the doctrine of Communism. On this very day demonstration bills were distributed by Hsu Chien, signed by the Executive Committee of the Communist Party. Mobs were led to force their way into the Cabinet building. Kerosene was sprinkled, bombs dropped, and pistols and clubs were used in assailing the bodyguards and the police force. Owing to the proper defence measures, wounded and dead resulted on both sides.

It is abominable and hateful that these agitators should constantly engage themselves in calling up crowds and creating disturbance of the public peace and thus endanger the country.

It has been found that these Communist groups have been hiding in the different provinces and areas, and frequent discoveries have been made of their intrigues. The peace and order of the entire country is in a very dangerous situation.

Besides instructing the metropolitan military and police forces to do their best in the precaution and defence work, the military and civil superior officers of all the provinces and areas are hereby ordered to carry out a strict and rigid investigation into the whole problem of Communism

with their subordinates. Thus the spurs of disturbance might be got rid of, and peace and order maintained. All the officers inside and outside of Peking are ordered to pay their fullest attention to the arrest of Hsu Chien and the others named, so as to bring them before the law and prevent further imitators.

Many extraordinary details are transpiring, making it clear that a Bolshevik "maximum effort" was being designed as a reply to the Taku ultimatum—that being judged such a heavy blow that the Soviet Embassy had to risk compromising itself in an attempt to re-establish the balance. The day before the firing a Communist student group apparently visited the Wai Chiao Pu with the draft of a reply which the group insisted must be sent by China to the Protocol Powers and which the officials of the Ministry believe was drafted by Karakhan himself. It was full of the usual jargon. A clash occurred later, and the police had to draw their swords, and the bloody shirt in the procession the next day originated from this. The vice-Minister in charge of the Ministry felt it his duty to send a private letter to the Senior Minister of the Powers informing him of the nature of the pressure which was being put on the Foreign Office—a proof that all Chinese moderates believe that we are on the edge of a revolutionary outbreak.

March 20, 1926.—Things continue to happen rapidly.

The Cabinet has suddenly resigned, officially

because of a telegram from the Christian General denouncing the "brutality" shown in shooting down scores of students; in reality because, the gauntlet having been thrown down, those of the Kuomintang party who remain in high office must get out in time. It seems that we are almost at the end of the period which commenced last May. Japan has put in her own little ultimatum regarding the Taku destroyer affair—indemnity, apology, drastic punishment of the officer responsible, guarantees. The Japanese navy is furious over the incident and claims that its honour is involved. However, the restraint shown by the Japanese Press is proof that Japan is not ready to take up any challenge.

March 21, 1926.—The Mukden army has made a sensational advance of 50 miles and is now in Tongshan at the great coal-mines, which are only 60 miles as the crow flies from Tientsin.

There was a report last night, which cannot be confirmed, that their cavalry was seen 38 miles from Peking.

The Citizens' armies are falling back on Tientsin, and the report is that they are going to evacuate the Chihli plain and go to Kalgan.

April will be a big month.

The Christian General is still reported at P'ingtichuan, the ammunition depot on the Kalgan railway. A whole fleet of motor-cars are waiting to take him to Urga.

The odds are that he will bolt—if he has not bolted already.

The moment he does, the various fronts are certain to fall in.

Chang Tso-lin has determined to possess himself of Kalgan so as to be in a position to cut off Soviet Russia from all contact with China inside the Great Wall.

If he gets there it is certain that Karakhan will have to leave Peking and that extreme measures will commence against the Chinese Eastern Railway. But people remain sceptical regarding the capacity of any Chinese leader to do anything decisive.

March 23, 1926.—All yesterday there was plenty of news to suit every political complexion.

The big thing, however, overshadowed everything else; it was the unexpected and complete withdrawal of the Citizens' armies from all fronts inside the 17-mile perimeter round the capital, a difficult operation involving nearly 100,000 men, and carried out in less than forty-eight hours by using every available bit of rolling-stock and all the roads.

No sooner had the staff of the First Army (the Christian General's) left Tientsin at one o'clock yesterday than hundreds of disguised soldiers, who had been lying hidden in the Japanese Concession, pulled out Mauser revolvers and rushed the Civil Governor's yamen in the Chinese city, causing a rearguard battle on the main streets and a general

panic. People telephoning from Peking to Tientsin yesterday plainly heard the sound of the firing, which was continuous for some hours. To-day all appears quiet excepting for the endless whistling of the troop-trains. Civil communication is entirely interrupted again, and our old and discredited friend, the International train, is to be revived.

Meanwhile the gates to the Legation quarter are partially closed and people are alarmed.

The main fact is that the 17-mile perimeter round the capital will prove a hard nut to crack, defended by 100,000 troops; and the odds are that we are in for an unstable period of several months with much bargaining before the new solution is found.

March 25, 1926.—This afternoon the Soviet Embassy issued a *communiqué* that on the 22nd the Christian General had arrived in Urga, where his wife and family had been waiting for him for a fortnight, and that a house had been placed at his disposal by the Mongolian Government.

This news is a key to much that has happened.

If the leader of the Nationalist armies arrived at Urga on the 22nd, it means that he left the Kalgan railway for the desert trip on the 20th. And since his decision must have been taken by the 19th, it means that the news he received, and the instructions he sent, by that date had a decisive influence on events.

For it was on March 16 that the Protocol Powers

took their decisive step of issuing a forty-four-hours' ultimatum regarding the Taku Channel, which expired at noon on the 18th. It was at two o'clock of the same day that the students' demonstration in front of the Cabinet office resulted in 200 killed and wounded.

These events must have convinced the Christian General that his game was up for the time being—the action of the foreign Powers being accepted by him as a signal of enmity. The withdrawal of all the Citizens' armies from the various fronts, which commenced on the morning of the 21st, must have been ordered immediately the news that the Christian General was going was telegraphed.

From this it is absolutely plain that he was the linch-pin which kept the wheel of agitation revolving on the axle-tree.

Even in Canton there seems to be a heavy fall in Red stock. There are Consular reports that the Russians are being driven out, and that the Chinese Communist party, together with the Strike Committee, is being put in the corner.

It seems too good to be true.

April 3, 1926.—One week of complete calm, with no trains from Tientsin and people travelling to and fro by motor-car ; that is, complete calm with the exception of an "enemy" aeroplane passing over daily and dropping a few small bombs which arouse singularly little comment.

What has happened to the armies? Nobody

knows. Every effort to find out exactly where each corps has secreted itself has failed. Sometimes, it is true, there is a big mass of men concentrated in one spot for a day or two. But during the night they have scattered no man knows where. It is not weakness of intellect that has brought this state of suspended animation, but shortness of ammunition, according to the newspapers. Each side is waiting for a new supply of fireworks and temporarily playing hide-and-seek. Actually within the walls of Peking there do not appear to be 5000 troops; as for the "allied armies" of 300,000 men that were closing in on the Nationalists from every point of the compass to crush them, they appear to have dropped through the earth.

Meanwhile Peking is isolated and its commerce perishing. One can understand Chinese history better during an interval like the present. Thousands of cities must have been totally ruined—their very names vanishing from the records—because they were cut off and invested and the population extinguished by hardships and famine. The difficulty of establishing even the site of Karakoram—the once glorious summer capital of Genghiz Khan, celebrated in poem and prose—is a well-known illustration of this. Some day Macaulay's New Zealander, having finished with the ruins of St. Paul's, may descend on Peking and try to locate Legation Street by consulting old maps and making measurements from the foundations of the Tartar Wall. Digging down, the most likely

things he will find will be not diplomatic records but forgotten boxes of valuables belonging to rich Chinese, who buried them there because their one protection was the foreigner's extra-territoriality. Coming upon priceless examples of Ming and Manchu porcelain, beautiful lacquers and charming inlaid work, he will declare to future generations that a race inhabited Peking which had good reason to despise political results when they had such pottery. The Legation quarter is invaded by boxes of valuables. There are some who declare that there are now 10,000 cases full of valuables cluttering every place that can be turned into a safe-deposit. Every rich man, every banker, every statesman has packed his valuables and sent them into the diplomatic quarter, making provision to follow in person as soon as firing commences. What a homage to the unequal treaties! A cynic pointed out yesterday that of all China's spokesmen at the Paris Peace Conference, who so bitterly denounced extra-territoriality, the foreign concessions, and the slavery of the Treaties, there is not one who is not to-day either in the Legation quarter or in foreign hotels in the treaty ports.

April 5, 1926.—Eleven days without trains.

It is now certain that our December record will be easily surpassed, and it is feared that we may even have another month of it. It is incredible but true. It would be difficult to find any other part of the world where this type of slow ruin

would be permitted. The rolling-stock is massed in long miles round the city, covered with dust and filth; and the only means of communicating with the outer world is by a motor road which is so rutted from the passage of artillery and transport wagons that it is amazing that any vehicle gets through. The garages are steadily putting up their rates. A seat to Tientsin now costs \$75 and a whole car from \$150 to \$200. The best now take nine hours for the 88-mile run and the drivers come in utterly exhausted. In December there was at least heavy fighting near Tientsin to justify our isolation. To-day there is a beautiful spring calm, with the soldiery and their leaders anxious only about the final distribution of cash.

The Kuominchün or People's armies want three million dollars down for evacuating Peking, and thereafter to be left alone in Kalgan—that has been announced. There are other generals not directly connected with them, who have their feet almost through the gates, and who declare that they will also exact tribute from the town the moment the road is open for them to take possession. The diplomatic body have authorized the release of half a million dollars from Customs funds to keep things quiet; but there is nothing tangible regarding anything else. So far as foreign nations are concerned the battle can be continued until it wrecks the whole of North China; there is not the slightest chance of any Power taking the initiative, although it would be child's play to stop it all.

Incidentally it may be remarked that what is holding up the advance is jealousy between the various generals, who are manœuvring to shift the onus of the attack on to some one else, so as to keep their own forces intact.

April 9, 1926.—Five days more of isolation, and the December record has been left in the shade. It is now seventeen days since the last train got through. There is complete listlessness in the town, with not a plane in the air. At night no Chinese stir out for fear of being robbed. Prices are steadily rising, and there is general uneasiness.

The Citizens' armies are reported to be negotiating with Wu Pei Fu regarding a new grouping so as to checkmate the Manchurian party, but the conversations, which are being given prominence in the local Press, are of no real value. Each group distrusts every other group; it could go on in this peculiar way for many months.

Yesterday a military attaché was asked how many foreign troops were required to open the railway and clear the road from Peking to Shan-haikwan.

"Five thousand men," he answered promptly, "if they were allowed to use their arms."

Large numbers of influential Chinese are secretly going to the Legations and asking that this be done. They see no hope from their own people.

The Tariff Conference delegates and the Extra-territoriality Commission are restive. They have

been here almost exactly half a year, and although their labours could be completed in very few days, if China would really negotiate, the prospect is that another half-year must pass before the end. There is not a man who will ever forget this intimate association with a moribund administration.

April 10, 1926.—Early this morning we got the shock we have been waiting for.

It was extremely difficult to piece together at first what had taken place, as the telephone service was interrupted, the city gates closed, and machine-guns placed so as to dominate the roads round the Government buildings. But slowly lips shaped those well-known words, *coup d'état*.

It was inevitable, of course, that the long isolation which we have been through should be interrupted by a violent development. But although it had been expected that the bodyguard of the Chief Executive would be disarmed by the Kuominchün so as to leave them undisputed masters, nobody thought that the stroke would be carried through so far as to include the arrest of the Chief Executive, or that General Lu Chung-lin, commandant of the Metropolitan Garrison, would issue such a proclamation as the one below, which was circulated from hand to hand at eleven in the morning. It is important to remember that it was the Kuominchün commanders who helped to instal Marshal Tuan in office eighteen months ago, closely guarded by their own soldiers. The pro-

clamation should be read with these things in mind, so as to get the local flavour :

Since his assumption of office as Chief Executive, Tuan Chi-jui has done everything possible to betray the interests of the country and bring disasters upon the people. His arbitrary settlement of the Gold Franc case and shooting down of a large number of students are the most notorious of all his misdeeds, which have aroused the utmost indignation of the people. All members of his entourage are the remnants of the Anfu Party. They have abetted in the commission of crime and promotion of evil-doing. They have defied law and worked for their own aggrandizement. And they have stirred up civil strife with the result of loss of life of many innocent people. For the sake of the State and people, our army has been obliged to adopt strong measures to check their activities.

While restoring immediate freedom to President Tsao Kun, we have telegraphed to Marshal Wu Pei Fu inviting him to come to Peking with his troops to take control of affairs. As regards the maintenance of local peace and order, the police and military will continue to assume full responsibility.

Merchants and the people are hereby ordered to attend to their respective vocations as usual, and if there is any one found guilty of plotting against local order he will be punished with all the severity of the law to set an example to others. Let all obey this.

By two o'clock in the afternoon the machine-guns were off the streets again and the city gates were open as if to signify that, the medicine having been duly swallowed, the patient could be given a little air. But at the same hour it became known that

Marhsal Tuan, with his seal of office, had slipped quietly into the Legation quarter and taken up his residence in a large French apartment building with all his immediate entourage. His palace is still picketed by his guards, and it is difficult to understand how the *coup* can be called a success.

April 11, 1926.—Marshal Tuan has issued a telegraphic *communiqué* to the country saying that government is suspended owing to illegal acts having been committed. The Kuominchün are considerably worried because no telegraphic reply has come from Wu Pei Fu although thirty hours have passed. There is a general feeling that their *coup* has miscarried. The excuse of the Kuominchün is that they were invited by a delegate from Wu Pei Fu to show their sincerity by some striking action; but men in the Intelligence service know that the so-called delegate is really the agent of a general who wishes to claim a reversionary interest in Peking. The Chinese have practically no political sense; they go from one folly to another.

Bombing has been resumed. This time they are using heavier bombs. There was heavy cannonading and machine-gun fire all last night at points fourteen miles south and east of Peking,—the Tientsin army trying to break in.

A Manchurian delegate here says that the main attack will come from the east, but not for some days, as ammunition and reserves are still being

brought up from Chang Tso-lin's bases, and things are not ready.

The foreign members of the Extra-territoriality Commission were to-day prevented by sentries from proceeding to their Conference hall: some of them even claim that they were menaced. Machiavelli himself could not have designed a situation more calculated to settle the question of extra-territoriality once and for all. After the report of the Commission is issued to the world, the question will not be raised again during the lifetime of the present generation. Consular jurisdiction and treaty-port immunity from chaos are to-day the sole sheet-anchors of law and order in China. To abolish the system established by the early treaties would be tantamount to officially handing China over body and soul to a thirty years' war.

April 12, 1926.—Firing continued all last night, and the Tientsin motor road is now definitely closed. Cars got twenty miles down it, and were then held up by shelling and a dropping machine-gun and rifle fire. All the people came back despondent, the mail trucks having failed for the first time to get through.

Heavy bombs were used in to-day's raid—50 kilos, it is estimated. The casualties were ten killed and about twenty wounded,—all harmless people except two soldiers. The bursts shook the ground and made a dull roar all over the town.

Chinese of position were badly alarmed, and there was a fresh rush for safety. There are said to be seventeen ex-Cabinet ministers in the Legation quarter, the basement next to a photographer's having enough notabilities to form a government. Everybody in the diplomatic quarter with rooms to let is coining money: one man claims that he is taking in \$300 a day and has 300 trunks stored at \$10 a piece! In the evening lines of Chinese ladies stand with their children on the side-walks getting a little air—it is like the fall of the T'ang dynasty.

There is increasing doubt whether Wu Pei Fu will respond to the *coup* allegedly made on his behalf. The mastery of Peking is bound to be bitterly contested. It may end badly for everybody if this suspense lasts much longer, as the defending force is digging itself in more solidly every day.

April 15, 1926.—Routine fighting continues, the attack never being pressed home. Every attempt to get down the Tientsin road has failed for four days, which must arouse a little more interest in our position throughout the world.

Some of Wu Pei Fu's troops have advanced to the outskirts of Peking, but they are apparently an observation corps.

There has been no bombing for two days, but a wire says that the Manchurian air force has now been transferred from Manchuria to a point near

Tientsin, and will commence active operations soon.

Chang Tso-lin is reported to be arriving in Tientsin in person to see what is holding up the attack. As he has announced that a complete end must be made of the Kuominchün, because of their Bolshevik affiliations, there is a chance of a smashing attack.

April 15, 1926.—An intense rifle and machine-gun fire for two nights on both the southern and eastern sides of the city gave those who are watching events an inkling of what was to come. Last night it rose to a ferocity as yet unequalled, which was clearly the sign that something was happening; early this morning soldiery began retreating in dense masses into the city from the east. The news quickly spread that the barrier town of Tungchow, fourteen miles away, had been evacuated and that "the enemy" was now only five miles off. Something akin to a panic broke out, when the Kuominchün retreat became generally known, crowds of women and children with their bedding and belongings pouring down to the southern end of the city where they would be near the Legation quarter and the area where many foreigners live—an interesting footnote on their confidence in those who, the student class declare, should be driven into the sea. By the afternoon the newspapers were circulating the report that there was to be a five days' sack by the Manchurian

army as soon as it got in—a pure piece of propaganda which disclosed how most of “the news” is dished up.

Early this evening it was announced that the Garrison Commander, who made the *coup* of the 10th instant against Marshal Tuan, had thrown up his hands and was fleeing. The rest is yet to tell, but the whole story is one which is difficult to parallel for futility and childishness. Ever since October we have been treated to a display far eclipsing anything known since the Republic was inaugurated. Treacheries, assassinations, defalcations, and repudiations have been the common tale of political China for many centuries; but never before have so many futilities been crowded into six months.

April 16, 1926.—A Committee of Safety has been formed, composed of notables who are to try and keep the city from being invaded by other troops. The Kuominchün evacuated all positions in and around the capital last night, a hundred thousand men pouring like a flood towards the north-west and the Kalgan passes.

All is quiet to-day and the city gates are kept rigidly closed.

It transpires that on the last night of the “battle” to the south of the city the Kuominchün casualties were four wounded! All the firing was merely a *feu de joie*. There has been no serious fighting at all during this spring campaign; and the sudden retreat simply came because Wu Pei Fu

declined the new alliance which had been so unexpectedly offered him.

April 22, 1926.—Six days of rare happenings—showing that the general disintegration in the metropolis has gone further than ever before. On the 18th Marshal Tuan resumed office as Provisional Chief Executive, although heads were shaken over his action since the amount of ill-feeling aroused by the many mandates directed against those who now have the ball at their feet was bound to show itself swiftly. On the 20th these fears were justified by Marshal Tuan's sudden departure for Tientsin—his definite exit from the political stage. The whole of his Anfu party have been proscribed and their arrest ordered, which, of course, is merely a way of speaking, as they are all safe in foreign concessions or foreign hospitals. They have been so grasping in the matter of money that this time they will not be easily forgiven. There is now no Government at all, although a valedictory mandate named the Minister of Foreign Affairs Acting Premier and called upon him to carry on the work of representing China.

The elimination of two distinct groups, the Kuominchün and Anfu ministers, has left a great gap. The closing of the gates and the formation of a Committee of Safety has done something to arrest disintegration, but not very much. Marshal Tuan had scarcely gone before the troops outside the city began to filter in, and in very few hours

they were everywhere. Tales of rape and rapine soon followed, and to-day half the shops are closed—mainly to avoid having worthless paper money forced on them. The method the soldiery follow is crude but ingenious. They go into shops, make small purchases, and tender a paper note in payment, asking for change in silver. If they are resisted the owner is liable to be shot.

Added to this is the great uproar caused by Chang Tso-lin's declaration that he refuses to recognize Karakhan as Soviet Ambassador, and will not accept responsibility for his personal safety since he is the author of all China's ills. Whether Karakhan is to be expelled as *persona non grata* remains to be seen, but we really appear to have reached the end of the long chapter which commenced with the shooting in Shanghai on May 30 of last year. It is quite plain that Chang Tso-lin's action is in revenge for the Soviet attempt made when he was in dire distress to get the governors of the two Northern Manchurian provinces in December to throw in their lot against him. Chang Tso-lin would be less than human if he did not strike now that there is the opportunity; but Soviet Russia will fight desperately to avoid a public humiliation.

Beyond this, however, nothing is clear. We have in and around Peking contingents from all sorts of rival forces, some owing allegiance to Chang Tso-lin and some to Wu Pei Fu and some half-independent. The Kuominchün are solidly

entrenched in the hills and mountains thirty miles away and will certainly not surrender. The Christian General, who has never gone any farther than Urga, may be back again; whichever force indulges in too much fighting will have its political value damaged, and leave rivals free to work their will.

Everything is paralysed by the general confusion and lack of leadership.

April 26, 1926.—More news to-day. At an early hour the editor of the principal paper supporting the Bolsheviks and Kuominchün was shot on the vacant land outside the Temple of Agriculture, having been decoyed out of the Legation quarter. There is little sympathy for him, as he was a blackguard; but it throws an interesting light on the perils of Chinese journalism. Half a dozen other men are being looked for.

There has been heavy fighting near the foothills. The Kuominchün will not be easily driven out of the country round the passes. Five hundred wounded came in one train in the afternoon and large numbers of troops are going forward to the firing line.

There are renewed reports that the Christian General is back at Kalgan and has assumed supreme command. No Government has yet been formed.

May 1, 1926.—Railway disorganization and still no Government of any sort. The Committee of

Safety continues to sit, keeping alive the idea of a central authority because so many former Prime Ministers—the elder statesmen—are on its lists. Each faction is seeking a way out which will leave it in power. There are daily proposals and counter-proposals regarding how “legality” is to be maintained, either by creating a governing Cabinet or by the election of a new President. But behind it all is the controlling factor—the man with the rifle. The direction in which the rifles are turned is all-important. For the time being Chang Tso-lin and Wu Pei Fu tacitly maintain their solid front : therefore the rifles are turned against the Nankow Pass and the Kuominchün ; but no one knows what the morrow will bring.

Some of the Chinese papers publish the four proposals which the Kuominchün or National Army leaders have laid down as their policy during coming days :

1. That peace be proposed both to the Fengtien and the Chihli leaders, so that there may be as little loss in strength as possible.

2. Should the peace overtures fail, Fêng Yü-hsiang should be asked to return, so that the army may be consolidated and its sphere of influence may not be invaded.

3. Should the final battle be lost, the army should withdraw as far back into Mongolia as possible and engage in reclamation of land as preparation.

4. Five hundred thousand troops should be

raised in the next five or ten years, so that they may be masters of the field of contest again.

From this it will be seen that we have here in the region of the Great Wall, under novel conditions, precisely the same problem as existed in the pre-Christian era. To-day it is Sovietized Russians and Mongols, in combination with a semi-Christian army, who play the Tartars' historic rôle.

April 30, 1926.—The Christian General has arrived in Verkneudinsk on his way to Moscow, according to the Soviet news service. This definitely sets at rest the rumours that he had secretly returned to Kalgan and was heading the defence against the attack now being developed on his mountain stronghold. His departure, so far from easing things, will tend to make them worse. Moscow will have at its elbow an embittered man who still controls 100,000 soldiery impregably entrenched in the mountains above Peking, an army determined to accept no settlement except one which will leave it its daily bread—which means a definite sphere of influence with all the accruing revenues. Now that Karakhan's own fate is at stake, as well as the fate of the Soviet policy in the Far East, every effort will be made to keep this army intact and well supplied with munitions and technical assistance. As Chang Tso-lin has large contingents of White Russians (4000 in all), Red Russia will not hesitate to follow

the same policy. It will mean, if the Nankow Pass continues to be held, that the Soviet frontier is within forty miles of Peking.

The attacks now being directed against the mountain stronghold are not successful and are half-hearted. Several thousand casualties have already been evacuated from the firing line, and the odds are that the whole Manchurian army will be called back, particularly as the relations between Chang Tso-lin and Wu Pei Fu are still very indefinite.

May 2, 1926.—Tsao Kun, the imprisoned President, who was released by the *coup d'état* of April 10, and who is now free, definitely resigned office yesterday, this step being held necessary to preserve legality and to facilitate the handing over of authority to some new supreme agency. No doubt the thing is ridiculous, but it shows how desperately anxious Chinese are to maintain certain legal forms as an evidence of their unimpaired sovereignty.

Tsao Kun's message of resignation well illustrates the Chinese mind struggling to maintain its equilibrium in a situation which does not interest it because it contradicts the fundamentals of Chinese life.

I, Tsao Kun, was entrusted with the heavy burden of the Presidency, but merit and ability were so poor that conflict among my followers broke out. On October 23, 1924, Fêng Yü-hsiang carried out a *coup d'état* at Peking

and I was imprisoned. From that time there has been no real chief administration in the country.

A year and a half have now passed, and all law has been set aside and disturbances have become endless. But the success of the anti-Traitor Expedition affords an opportunity for reinstatement of the Constitution. The Cabinet, as a matter of course, must be restored, and in accordance with the law it must take charge of the duties of the President.

I am tired of political life, and regret that control of the situation is beyond my power. I trust, however, that all my former colleagues will do their utmost to bring about re-unification of the country, working through legal channels. I am glad to state that I see ahead peace and prosperity as I retire from political life and become a private citizen.

May 9, 1926.—Fêng Yü-hsiang arrived in Moscow to-day accompanied by members of his staff, according to a telegram, and was accorded a hearty welcome, large numbers of the Russian and Chinese population turning out to welcome him. He was met at the station by representatives of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, the General Staff of the Red Army, the Commandant of the Moscow garrison, the Chinese Chargé d'Affaires, the Staff of the Chinese Embassy, and a group of representatives of the Sun Yat Sen University in Moscow. A guard of honour was drawn up on the platform, and as he stepped out of the train the orchestra struck up the Soviet anthem. The Red Square was filled with crowds of Russian workers and clerks from the Moscow factories and

government and other offices, as well as numerous Chinese students of the Sun Yat Sen University, Chinese merchants, and other Chinese residents in Moscow. There was an outburst of enthusiastic cheering.

This is the official report. We have now to see how this will hitch on to the situation facing his army in the Nankow Pass, and how long it will be before a new type of action develops.

May 12, 1926.—Dr. W. W. Yen, titular Minister to Great Britain, and only tarrying here because of the Customs Conference, took a courageous step to-day by removing the Cabinet paraphernalia back into the palace and announcing that he had resumed office as Prime Minister, which he was in 1924 before the Christian General's *coup d'état*.

He has absolutely no support, because the generals are not interested in good government or any government at all and only want cash. There is, moreover, every chance of a formidable opposition developing. Dr. Wellington Koo, named as Minister of Finance, was with him when he assembled the permanent Cabinet Staff, but the rest of those proposed for the Cabinet do not seem anxious to act.

With the capital penniless, and the last hope the Customs Conference, the outlook is more disconsolate than it has been for many years.

May 25, 1926.—Nearly two weeks have gone by

in complete uneventfulness. The Cabinet still only exists as a theory, Dr. W. W. Yen acting as Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, and none of those named for the remaining portfolios assuming office. The Kuominchün remain entrenched in the passes above Peking in their impregnable positions: Chang Tso-lin continues to exchange telegrams with Wu Pei Fu regarding the manner in which a legal Government is to be installed; there is a little desultory fighting here and there, but nothing of any importance. The foreign delegations to the Customs Conference continue to drive about in Government motor-cars, waiting for somebody to negotiate with. They are willing to concede the Washington Treaty increases at once so as to adjourn; but what is going to happen is absolutely obscure. We are on a rudderless ship, drifting, drifting.

Money, money—everybody wants money. There is none. The summer settlement day is fast approaching and by hook or crook money must be obtained.

The Parliament of 1913 has come to life again. Three hundred members who had previously clustered round Wu Pei Fu at Hankow, having been given pocket-money, have come up to Peking and are demanding that the Law Colleges should be surrendered to them again for their meetings. This is but one of the many little factors which express the endless wire-pulling that goes on. The Parliament is frankly for sale. Money would



THE NANKOW PASS.

The hollow in the centre of the picture shows the point where the railway, after running up the side of the mountain, enters a mile-long tunnel. This has been the pivotal point in the campaign against the Kuominchün.

settle everything : it is all a question of cash. Any foreign Power that could provide five million pounds in cash could settle the affairs of China for five years.

May 26, 1926. — Wu Pei Fu is leaving the Yangtze valley to-day for the North and will meet Chang Tso-lin, who is coming down from Manchuria expressly to give his views. If the leading Powers had a wish to help China they would go into conference with these two and propose a five years' truce to allow China to settle down.

Something should in any case grow out of a meeting that has one common object—to drive the Bolsheviks out of China.

June 1, 1926.—A new month and new movements in the making.

Last week ended with the Kuominchün forcing back a perceptible distance the forces that were besieging them at the base of their mountain stronghold, and indeed spreading dismay by their sharp artillery work. There are consequently support trenches only eleven miles to the north of the city gates ; military experts say that if the Kuominchün wish they can be back in Peking in eight hours.

This, however, is mere speculation. What is important is that Wu Pei Fu has been in Paotingfu (eighty miles south of Peking) during the last

twenty-four hours, and that Chang Tso-lin entrains almost at once for Tientsin.

The meeting between Wellington and Blücher will be no more memorable than the meeting of these two men, whose rivalries have torn the country asunder for so many years, and who are now temporarily allies to exterminate what they call the Red peril. Half the officials believe that when they come face to face they will fall out with one another, as both are so irascible; the others believe that they will never meet. But as there is a peril for both just now, the odds are that they will tread lightly and do the normal thing.

June 2, 1926.—The Chinese Press is greatly excited over the action of Wu Pei Fu in boldly summoning his chief general before him and dismissing him for secretly trafficking with the Kuominchün. That something was wrong was plain to every one, but the discovery that there was yet another plot is disheartening, even to the stalwarts. *Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.* It could certainly go on this way for thirty years were it not for the fact that the patience of the West will finally be worn out and some decision taken.

June 6, 1926.—Chang Tso-lin has arrived in Tientsin. The final phase may be said to be near. The bargaining will commence in a day or two. The two leaders have got to determine what kind

of Government they will have. No Government will have any legal basis, but there must be a compromise to exhibit to the public as evidence of agreement.

June 14, 1926.—Hesitation in every quarter.

Chang Tso-lin has been in Tientsin many days. His principal counsellor, the Chief of Staff, Yang Yü-ting, has come down from Mukden and gone back again, having solved the problem. Yet it is not solved ; it is beyond solution. What he has done is merely to prevent an open breach between Wu Pei Fu's two deputies and Chang Tso-lin's. They had been sitting round a conference table trying to square the circle, unable to agree as to who was to constitute the Cabinet or how the work of government was to be carried on by a body of ministers resurrected from their grave. What the Chief of Staff was able to point out was that it was unreasonable to expect Mukden to let bygones be bygones to the extent of welcoming the Cabinet of 1924, which had issued a punitive mandate against Manchuria and started the great Shanhaikwan attack. Accordingly, while the nomination of the new ministry is to be left to Wu Pei Fu, he will have to compile a fresh list,—a hint that behind the scenes the power must remain divided as heretofore. How could it be different, since everything in China is purely personal? Neither is it hidden from the subordinate generals that the two leaders are not what they were two years ago.

Battle, murder, and sudden death have been too constant : the power of command, like the vanished Throne, is a fading tradition.

What will happen ? Nobody knows. Chang Tso-lin is a little stronger than his erstwhile rival, but he is standing on a pyramid of paper. The Manchurian paper dollars, which were an excellent governing instrument up to 1924, have been over-issued in such quantities that they have gone the way of the franc and are only worth 15 per cent of their face value. War has done that, as this little table clearly shows—principally the war of 1924 which wrecked North China :

1916	.	.	.	.	\$15,800,000
1917	.	.	.	.	16,935,000
1922	.	.	.	.	36,000,000
1924 (March)	.	.	.	.	51,000,000
1924 (November)	.	.	.	.	232,284,000
1926	.	.	.	.	511,723,000

Thus the immense sum of 460 million dollars has been spent on arms and fighting by one party in exactly two years. Inaction is inevitable until some external factor comes to the rescue.

There are said to be three hundred thousand soldiery belonging to the two leaders spread in an irregular line more than a hundred miles long round the foothills of the mountain mass of which Kalgan is the centre, waiting for the word. They can do nothing. If they attack with violence they will break into fragments, and the confusion will become worse confounded as they roll back on the

cities, announcing to the people that the reign of force in an eminently pacifist State is a total illusion.

June 22, 1926.—Another week has in any case brought one result. Chang Tso-lin has been so firm in his insistence that he would not accept the Cabinet based on the law of 1924 that Dr. Yen, the Premier, has resigned, nominating the Minister of the Navy to act for him, and leaving the situation more obscure than before.

June 24, 1926.—Chang Tso-lin and Wu Pei Fu still delay coming. No one can understand what is causing the hitch. There is said to be something wrong in certain units of the Manchurian army. A number of the better-class shops in the capital are closing because of the deliberate fraud practised on them by soldiery with the new military paper money. Great prominence is given in the newspapers to a story which seems to belong to the days of Haroun-Al-Raschid. It appears that beautifully dressed Chinese ladies go to the best silk shops and goldsmiths and make purchases running into thousands of dollars, saying that they will send the money. After an hour or two soldiers turn up with the full amount in military paper money and ask for delivery of the goods purchased. As refusal might lead to the shops being sacked, the things are handed over at a dead loss of 75 per cent, as the notes are only worth 25 per cent of

their face value. This shows the influence of the eternal feminine even in China—a subject which is quite obscure.

Nothing like this has ever before been experienced in Peking.

June 25, 1926.—There was great excitement yesterday, which finally ended in disappointment. Chang Tso-lin and Wu Pei Fu were at last to meet and make a final settlement of the difficulties. All day troop-trains were pouring in Manchurian troops from Tientsin to act as a bodyguard for Chang Tso-lin, 35,000 men in all, surely the most lusty bodyguard any leader ever had. Up to a late hour the railway station was kept heavily guarded ; but in the evening there was an anti-climax. The Manchurian war-lord's arrival was postponed, as Wu Pei Fu said he was not ready to come, owing to pressure of military business.

June 26, 1926.—At last Chang Tso-lin has arrived. Yellow earth was scattered round the station as for the Emperors. . . .

The newspapers are publishing details of an elaborate three days' meeting, but Wu Pei Fu still delays coming. In an interview he is reported to have said that he hated Peking and could not breathe freely inside its grim walls—a remark many Southern Chinese make. They say they become physically ill directly they pass inside this Asiatic Bastille.

June 28, 1926.—At six o'clock this morning Wu Pei Fu finally turned up. The French engineers on the Hankow railway say that he telephoned the night before, inquiring what troops were garrisoning the railway station. On being told that they were Manchurian troops, he declared that he would not come unless they were changed.

They were forthwith changed. A wonderful atmosphere for a peace conference.

June 29, 1926.—Wu Pei Fu left last night after fourteen hours in the capital. Everything was settled between him and Chang Tso-lin; a most satisfactory meeting, all the papers obsequiously announce. *No politics were talked.* Can such a thing be true? Undoubtedly. This is an exact sequence of what happened. First, Chang Tso-lin called on Wu Pei Fu and had a brief talk. Then Wu Pei Fu called on Chang Tso-lin and had another brief talk. They spoke on the necessity of crushing the Red movement, and both cordially agreed. Then they attended a banquet offered by the acting Premier, at which adherents of the two parties occupied opposite sides of the table. Then there was a short conference; immediate orders for the attack on the Nankow Pass were to be issued. Then Chang Tso-lin said that he would leave the matter of the Cabinet entirely to Wu Pei Fu until the military problem was settled. That appears to be the whole story of a meeting about which the entire nation has talked for weeks. Incidentally,

quite incidentally, it leaked out that several delicate points were touched upon. Chang Tso-lin, for instance, wanted one of his old units which had taken part in the Kuo Sung-ling business to be disarmed and the commander shot. Wu Pei Fu demurred. It also transpired that another unit belonging to the former Tientsin governor, who put up such a fight against the Kuominchün in December, is to be disbanded as well, because in some way it is held to have indelicately transferred itself into semi-allegiance to Wu Pei Fu when it should have remained in the Manchurian camp.

Now that the Simon-Pure troops are left to deal with Nankow we shall at least see how they measure up against the enemy.

June 30, 1926.—Chang Tso-lin went back to Tientsin yesterday prior to his departure for Mukden.

Everything now hinges on the military campaign being a success. The Kuominchün remain entrenched almost within gunshot of Peking, and any attack on them which ends in disaster will re-open all the issues left in suspense. Wu Pei Fu declares that he will be in Kalgan within a week, and his principal general has been given three days to capture a key position which outflanks Nankow. There is no use guessing: there is nothing to do but to wait. If the Kuominchün give way and retire, it will end Soviet influence in China. There are now said to be 500 Soviet Russians with them.

As the Christian General has been two months in Moscow it can be taken for granted that he has got everything that seems necessary to fight a grim fight.

Much indeed turns on this play proceeding behind the dark foothills which ring Peking's azure skies. Soviet Russia, after having practically bitten off Outer Mongolia, and got her fingers into Chinese Turkestan, is as much involved as any Chinese army. The immense region of Central Asia, which she has disputed with China for centuries, is now masterless, and one of the prizes of the present war. Russia under the Tsars was never as close to victory as Sovietism is to-day.

How can she let the Kuominchün fail ?

July 2, 1926.—Meanwhile the Tariff Conference waits : it is merely a screen on which events cast their shadows. Its intimate connection with the subtle internal struggle going on is now recognized. England and America, having made up their minds that they will not be jockeyed by Japan, are determined that there shall be no adjournment, but that they will remain ready to deal with any Chinese Government until there is an absolute settlement of the Washington Treaties as well as of the final matter of autonomy.

The British Representative, to make these points clear, read a statement this morning to all the delegations, which was taken as a concealed warning to the Japanese. Japan has been opposing England for eight long months, trying to utilize the occasion

to shackle British trade in such a way that commercial hegemony passes to Tokyo. Japan presented secretly to the Chinese delegates weeks ago, worked out in great detail, a plan for an International Board to be put over the British Inspector-General of Customs—a manœuvre which the Chinese themselves killed. All her present endeavours are centred, under the pretence of being liberal to the Chinese, on securing that the coast trade taxation shall remain after surtaxes have been granted, as this taxation falls mainly on British trade and does not affect hers. It is war to the knife, here in the city as well as on the mountains, a return to the days of a year ago when Japanese gave the watchword to Chinese nationalist meetings, "England never fights without allies, and the way to defeat her is to isolate her."

July 5, 1926.—To-day is the day set for the great attack on Nankow. It is just a week since Wu Pei Fu said it would take no more than this for his generals to work in behind the main passes. . . . Not a gun can be heard. There is a Sabbath peace and a blazing heat of 105 degrees on the Great Plain. It is beginning to be believed that this battle which commenced nine months ago has no end—that it will go on endlessly as a form of life. All effort seems to run into the earth like water cast on the burning soil : we are riding on an immense wheel of time which turns so slowly that weeks and months are infinitesimal things.

Will the mountain fortress be captured, and even if it is, will it not merely be the prelude to another struggle?

It is now believed that the Kuominchün will fall back step by step towards the desert. . . . Vast Mongolia beckons to them, and also Chinese Turkestan. There are vague reports that Fêng Yü-hsiang will be elected President of these autonomous regions. When they lost touch with the sea at Tientsin, the Citizens' armies were inevitably condemned to put a barrier between themselves and their opponents. If the mountains are lost, there is beyond the greater barrier of distance over which falls the grim shadow of Russia. . . .

THE END

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